



CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK II, N. Y.



Dean Hoffman Fund

BLACKWELL'S

637



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

A WOMAN OF THE TUDOR AGE

All rights reserved



Katherine Willoughby. Duchess of Suffolk.

from a miniature by Holbein, the property of the Earl of Ancaster.

A WOMAN OF THE TUDOR AGE

BY LADY CECILIE GOFF

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

GENERAL THEO. SEYMOUR

92
Su29

128791

FIRST EDITION 1930

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
MICHIGAN

TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER

FOREWORD

My material in the following pages is drawn almost entirely from contemporary documents, but except in a very few cases I have used modern spelling.

I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Lord Fitzmaurice for his kindness in reading my manuscript; also to Mrs. Hilary Jenkinson who has been good enough to decipher many documents for me. I am also indebted to the Countess of Lindsey, Mr. E. Binns, Mr. R. Edleston, Mrs. William Phipps and Miss Christine Rutherford who have all procured information for me; and to Mr. T. Cottrell Dormer who has been good enough to let me take a copy of an original letter that he has in his possession at Rousham, Oxfordshire, while Mrs. Ellis has given me invaluable help.

Mr. Edgar Lister, of Westwood Manor, has kindly lent me his first edition of *Latimer's Sermons* from which the Duchess of Suffolk's coat of arms on the cover of this book is taken. I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of the authorities of the British Museum and of the proprietors of Country Life Ltd.—the former for allowing me to reproduce Kip's engraving of Grimsthorpe and the latter for giving me permission to reproduce their photographs of Parham Old Hall and Tattershall Castle. The Bodleian Library has kindly given me permission to reproduce Wyngaerde's Plan of London, and the Map of Poland is reproduced by kind permission of Ernest Benn Ltd.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
Katherine Willoughby's birth—Descent—Deed executed by Lord Willoughby—Guienne expedition—Terouenne campaign—Lord Willoughby's marriage with Mary de Salinas—Her story—Grant of Grimsthorpe	I

CHAPTER II

Parham—Field of the Cloth of Gold—Trial of the Duke of Buckingham—French campaign of 1523—Lord Willoughby's expenditure—Death—Will	9
--	---

CHAPTER III

Dispute over Katherine Willoughby's inheritance—Her wardship purchased by the Duke of Suffolk—Her life in the French Queen's household—Westhorpe—Death and funeral of the French Queen	15
--	----

CHAPTER IV

Katherine's marriage with the Duke of Suffolk—The Brandon family—The Duke's previous marriages—His secret marriage with Mary Tudor—Henry VIII's anger—Tribute levied from his sister—Birth of Queen Elizabeth—Suffolk's debts—Made Justice of the Forests on this side Trent—Letter from Sir Thomas Audley	23
--	----

CHAPTER V

Suffolk's mission to Queen Katherine at Buckden—His letters to the King and Privy Council—Chapuys' account of the Queen's plight—New Year's gifts to the King—Letters from the Marchioness of Dorset—Death of the Earl of Lincoln—Birth of Katherine's elder son—Illness of Katherine of Aragon—Lady Willoughby's ride to Kimbolton—Queen Katherine's death—Funeral	32
---	----

CHAPTER VI

	PAGE
Execution of Fisher and More—Suffolk's petition for More's house—Grant of Norwich Place—Suffolk Place in Southwark—Inventory of plate there—Suffolk's debts and assets—Birth of Katherine's second son—Suffolk's surrender of Ewelme and Hognorton—Dissolution of the smaller religious houses—Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn—Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour—Death of the Duke of Richmond—Triple marriage in Shoreditch	44

CHAPTER VII

Outbreak of the Lincolnshire Rebellion—Commissioners' want of tact over the dissolution of religious houses—Action of the clergy—Predicament of the gentry—Murder of the Bishop's chancellor and sack of the palace at Lincoln—Letter to the King—The King's proclamation—Deputation sent to the King to make terms—Letter from Chapuys' nephew—The King's plans for raising an army—Suffolk appointed his lieutenant—Letters from Norfolk, Suffolk, Richard Cromwell, and Sir John Russell	53
---	----

CHAPTER VIII

Difficulty of obtaining money to pay the King's army—Suffolk's letter announcing the arrival of the deputation of Lincolnshire gentlemen—Spread of the rebellion to Yorkshire—Lord Darcy's letter—Suffolk's report of his operations—Letters from the King with instructions—Suffolk at Lincoln—John Williams' letter—Evidence of the prisoners—Lord Hussey	66
---	----

CHAPTER IX

Norfolk's dissatisfaction—Letter from the Privy Council—Letter from Sir William Paulet—The Pilgrimage of Grace—Suffolk sends herald to Lord Darcy—Perilous escape of Lady Eleanor Clifford—Suffolk to the King—The King to Suffolk—Suffolk's jurisdiction at Lincoln—Dearth of bows and arrows—Letter from Norfolk—Foreign comments—Trial of the ringleaders—Grant of Tattershall Castle to the Duke of Suffolk—Grant of Vaudey Abbey to the Duke and Duchess—History of Vaudey—State of public feeling in Suffolk—The Duke's residence in Lincolnshire—Lord Hussey's execution—Results of the religious changes—Manning to Cromwell—Grant to Manning	76
---	----

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER X

	PAGE
The Lisle correspondence—The Misses Bassett—Lady Powis and Lady Mounteagle—Suffolk to the King—Prevailing sickness—Birth of Edward VI—John Husee's letters—Death of Jane Seymour—The King's projected marriage with the Duchess of Milan—Spoliation of the churches—Introduction of Church registers—Plague—Letter from John Husee—Lady Wallop to Lady Lisle—False reports about the King taking unmarked cattle—Norfolk's letters on the subject—A shoemaker's union at Wisbeach	89

CHAPTER XI

Norfolk's unkindness to his wife—The Duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell—Lady Lisle's visit to Court—Supposed Yorkist plot—Execution of Exeter and his pretended accomplices—Epitaph of Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew—Fears of an invasion—Muster in London—Passing of the Six Articles—A "triumph" on the Thames—Death of Lady Willoughby—Grants to Suffolk of Church lands—Suffolk's surrender of houses and manors—Suffolk to the King—John Husee's commissions—Letter from the Duchess of Suffolk—Francis Hall—The Count Palatine's visit—Lady Lisle to Lord Lisle—Difficult position of Lord Lisle	102
--	-----

CHAPTER XII

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves—Suffolk made Great Master of the Household—Suffolk's acquisition of lands and mules—International tournament at Durham House—Suffolk's contribution as a Knight of the Garter—Arrest of Lord Lisle—Divorce of Anne of Cleves—Execution of Cromwell—Inventory of his furniture—Henry's marriage with Katherine Howard—Plight of Lady Lisle—Matters dealt with by the Privy Council	116
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII

Henry VIII's progress in 1541—Grimsthorpe	125
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV

Katherine Howard's intrigues—Money paid to the King in Lincolnshire—James V breaks his engagement to meet Henry at York—Lascelles' revelations regarding Katherine Howard's love affairs—Imparted to the King by Cranmer—Letters from Marillac—Sir Ralph Sadler—The Council to Paget—Katherine Howard charged

	PAGE
at Hampton Court—Removed to Sion—Chapuy's to Granville—Marillac to King Francis—Suffolk's part in the investigations—Marillac to King Francis— Execution of Katherine Howard	133

CHAPTER XV

Speculations regarding Katherine Howard's successor— Chapuy's to the Emperor—Death of Lord Lisle—Letter from Chapuy's—Anne of Cleves' readiness to return to Henry—Cranmer to the King—Chapuy's to the King— Issue of seals—Warrant to Vaudernot—Suffolk made Warden of the Marches—Suffolk to Wriothesley— Death of Southampton—Depredations of the <i>Mary Willoughby</i> —Suffolk and others to the Council— Henry's projected invasion of Scotland—Corre- spondence on the subject with Suffolk—Wriothesley to Suffolk—Henry's marriage with Katherine Parr—A Catholic reaction—Henry's invasion of France— Capture of Boulogne—The King's return to England— Jean Albeige	143
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI

Settlement of the succession—Raising of a new loan— Richard Rede—Appearance of a French fleet in the Channel—Loss of the <i>Marie Rose</i> —Suffolk to Paget— French descent on the Isle of Wight—Letter from Cardinal Farnese—Suffolk joins the King at Petworth —Removal of the King and Council to Guildford— Departure of the French fleet—Removal of the King and Council to Woking—Suffolk's death at Guildford— Paget to Norfolk—Estimate of the Duke's character— His will—His chaplain Seaton—The Duke's burial— His illegitimate descendants—Richard Brandon Charles I's reputed executioner	153
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII

Involved condition of the Duke's affairs—Dymock to Wriothesley—The Duchess's position at Court—Van der Delft's gossip—The King of Poland a possible suitor for the Duchess—Anne Askew—Her account of her sufferings—Her death—Proclamation regarding for- bidden books—Adherence of many courtiers, including the Duchess of Suffolk, to the reformed doctrines— Van der Delft to the King—Execution of Surrey and imprisonment of Norfolk—Death of Henry VIII— Coronation of Edward VI—Wardship of her son granted to the Duchess of Suffolk	164
---	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XVIII

	PAGE
Katherine Parr's marriage with Lord Seymour—Letter from Katherine Parr—Differences with her husband over Princess Elizabeth—The Princess removed from the Queen's custody—Birth of Katherine Parr's daughter—The Queen's death—Seymour's ambitions—His unscrupulous methods—His arrest and execution—Care of his daughter committed to the Duchess of Suffolk—The Duchess's letter to Cecil complaining of the burden of the child's maintenance	172

CHAPTER XIX

The Duchess's activities in Lincolnshire spreading the reformed doctrines—Visit of her elder son to France—Both sons students at Cambridge—The Duchess settles at Kingston—Intercourse with Martin Bucer, Haddon, Wilson, and Cecil—Letters to Cecil regarding the purchase of Spilsby Chantry—Her trading ventures—Proposed marriage for her son—Somerset's impeachment—Morrison's letter to Throgmorton	178
---	-----

CHAPTER XX

Death of Martin Bucer—Re-appearance of the sweating sickness—Disease developed by the Brandon brothers—Wilson's description of their last hours—Their death at Buckden—Wilson's life of the brothers—His references to the Duchess in his <i>Arte of Rhetorique</i> —Inventory of the Brandon brothers' effects—The Duchess's letter to Cecil referring to the loss of her sons	191
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI

Reversion to the Crown of all lands granted to the Duke of Suffolk by Henry VIII—Lady Powis's attempt to obtain money under a forged will—Inventory of goods at Tattershall—The Duchess's Christmas visit to Tilsey—Letter to Cecil with a reference to Latimer—Her marriage with Richard Bertie hinted at—Latimer's visit to Grimsthorpe—His sermons there	202
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII

Richard Bertie—His father, Thomas Bertie, stone-mason—Employed by Wriothesley—Captain of Hurst Castle—Richard Bertie's culture—The Duchess's second marriage—Death of Edward VI—Imprisonment of Ridley and Latimer—Ridley's letter referring to the Duchess's alms—The burning of Ridley and Latimer—Augustine Bernher's fidelity	212
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

	PAGE
Birth of Suzan Bertie—Bertie's account in Foxe's <i>Martyrology</i> —Gardiner summons Bertie to appear before him in London—Charges brought against the Duchess—Bertie's refutations—His release—Obtains a warrant to travel overseas—Subsequent flight of the Duchess—Joined by Bertie—Arrival at Wesel—Inhospitable reception—Deloney's ballad—Birth of Peregrine Bertie—Commemorative tablet at Wesel	219

CHAPTER XXIV

Hint from Sir John Mason—Flight to Windsheim—Financial straits—Miles Coverdale's letter—Invitation to settle in Poland—Their adventures by the way—Invested with executive powers in Poland—Three years' residence in Poland—Death of Queen Mary—The Duchess's letter to Cecil—Expostulations regarding the form of worship observed by Queen Elizabeth—Bernher's dedication to the Duchess of his collection of Latimer's sermons.	230
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV

Drew's play <i>The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk</i> —Performed at the Fortune Theatre, Cripplegate—Local associations—Plot founded on Bertie's story in the <i>Martyrology</i> —Drew's allusions to the prisons in Southwark	240
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI

Restoration of the Duchess's goods and lands—Second marriage of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk—Marriage of the Earl of Hertford to Lady Katherine Grey—Their imprisonment—Lady Katherine's death—Lady Mary Grey's marriage with Serjeant Keyes—Her confinement at Chequers—Given over to the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk—The Duchess's appeal to Cecil for necessities for Lady Mary—Lady Mary transferred to the keeping of Sir Thomas Gresham—Complaints of the Greshams—Lady Mary's release	251
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII

The Duchess's Household Accounts—Different categories of dependents—Clothes and other necessities—Players—Visits—Bishop Hall—Lord Clinton's visit	261
---	-----

CONTENTS

XV

CHAPTER XXVIII

PAGE

Household accounts in London—Travelling expenses— Lodgings at Westminster—Associations with Holbein —Hans Eeuwouts—Katherine Ashley—The Duchess catches smallpox—The Queen takes the infection—Sir Thomas Smith's letter—The Duchess's removal to the Barbican—History of the Barbican—The Duchess's dealings with goldsmiths—Losses at games of chance— Stores, groceries, coal	272
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX

Bertie, member for Lincolnshire—Rumour of a Government post being offered to him—His postscript to Cecil— Illness of the Duchess—Correspondence with foreigners —Letter to Cecil concerning the introduction of foreign artificers—Letter to Cecil regarding the Customs at Boston	284
---	-----

CHAPTER XXX

Suzan Bertie's marriage with Richard Grey—Claims lodged for the revival of the Kent and Willoughby titles—The Duchess's letters to Cecil on the subject—Letters to Lord Berkeley—Richard Grey's claim allowed—His early death—Bertie's claim to the Willoughby title rejected.	290
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXI

Dr. Browne—Burleigh's letter to Archbishop Whitgift— Death of Lady Mary Keyes—Her will—Peregrine Bertie—A marriage with Elizabeth Cavendish proposed for him—Her marriage with the Earl of Lennox— Lady Mary de Vere.	302
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXII

The Duchess's opposition to her son's marriage with Lady Mary—Letter to Cecil—Lord Oxford's behaviour to his wife—Peregrine Bertie's letter to Lady Mary—The Duchess becomes reconciled to the marriage—Letter to Cecil about the Earl of Oxford—Peregrine Bertie's marriage with Lady Mary—Sir Thomas Cecil's letter to Lord Burghley reporting differences between the couple —The Duchess's letter to the Earl of Leicester com- plaining of her daughter-in-law—Lady Mary's loyalty as a wife—Augustine Bernher's dedication to the Duchess of another edition of <i>Latimer's Sermons</i> — Death of the Duchess—Peregrine Bertie assumes his mother's title—Death of Richard Bertie—Monument at Spilsby	309
--	-----

INDEX	319
-----------------	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

KATHERINE WILLOUGHBY, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK *Frontispiece*
 From a miniature by Holbein The property of the Earl of
 Ancaster.

	PAGE
PARIHAM OLD HALL <i>facing</i>	16
By permission of <i>Country Life Ltd.</i>	

TATTERSHALL CASTLE <i>facing</i>	84
By permission of <i>Country Life Ltd.</i>	

MAP OF POLAND	235
From <i>Poland</i> by W. R. Morfill, by permission of Ernest Benn, Ltd.	

GRIMSTHORPE <i>facing</i>	262
From an engraving by Kip, dated 1674, in the British Museum.	

A SECTION FROM WYNGAERDE'S PANORAMA OF LONDON,
 WESTMINSTER, AND SOUTHWARK, 1543

From the engraving in the Sutherland Collection in the
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Following Pedigree at end

CHAPTER I

Katherine Willoughby's birth—Descent—Deed executed by Lord Willoughby—Guienne expedition—Terouenne campaign—Lord Willoughby's marriage with Mary de Salinas—Her story—Grant of Grimsthorpe.

KATHARINE WILLOUGHBY, the central figure in the following pages, was born in 1519; she belonged to what was known in her day as the old nobility. At the accession of Henry VII only twenty-nine peers were summoned to Parliament. The Wars of the Roses had decimated the older baronage, and even in the case of Katherine's family only a younger branch had survived. She was descended from Ralph de Wyleby of Wyleby in the county of Lincolnshire, whose lands were seized for his adherence to the rebel Barons in the reign of King John. Ralph de Wyleby's grandson, Sir William Willoughby, served in the Last Crusade, and he obtained further lands through his marriage with Alice Beke, who was not only heir to her brother John, second Lord Beke, but also to her uncle, Anthony Beke, the great churchman and politician of Edward I's reign. Sir William's son, Robert, attended King Edward I at the siege of Carlavaroock Castle, and was summoned to Parliament in 1313. His son fought at Crecy, and his grandson at Poitiers. Through the latter's marriage with Cecilie Ufford, sister and heir of William Ufford, second Earl of Suffolk, the Willoughby family now inherited large estates in Suffolk. John, fourth Lord Willoughby, served with the Duke of Lancaster in France, Flanders, and Spain, and the fifth Lord Willoughby (one of the

characters in *Richard II*) was "reteined" to attend King Henry IV upon his expedition to Scotland, with three knights besides himself, twenty-seven men-at-arms, and one hundred and sixty-nine archers. His sons served in France in the succeeding reign. It was from Sir Thomas Willoughby, the second son, who is described as one of the heroes of Agincourt, that Katherine was descended. The elder son Robert also fought at Agincourt, and was Governor of Paris at the time of its fall. He left an only daughter Joan, and her husband, Sir Richard Welles, was summoned to Parliament in 1455 as seventh Lord Willoughby. Sir Richard, and his son Sir Robert Welles, lost their lives in the Wars of the Roses; and Sir Richard's only child Joan, who married Sir Richard Hastings, left no children. Sir Thomas Willoughby's son married Cecilie Welles, daughter of the sixth Lord Welles who had also been killed in the struggle between York and Lancaster; and her grandson William, succeeded his cousin Joan Hastings, as tenth Lord Willoughby, and was the father of Katherine. She was his only surviving child. His first wife was Mary Hussey, a daughter of the eminent lawyer, whose arms appear in one of the painted glass windows in Gray's Inn Hall. She is mentioned as being the recipient of a "mantelet" at the funeral of Henry VII. Mary Hussey died childless before 1512, for in the latter year, when Lord Willoughby was appointed one of the "Councillors in the appointment for the war," he made his brother Christopher his heir, and arranged a marriage between him and Elizabeth Tailboys, the daughter of Sir George Tailboys, a Lincolnshire neighbour. The settlement that Lord Willoughby drew up on this occasion was to be the source of much discord in his family. Besides the money that he obtained through his brother's marriage, Lord Willoughby was also granted loans by the King amounting to sixteen hundred pounds. The war for which these funds were required was the expedition

to enforce Henry VIII's claims upon Guienne, claims that Ferdinand of Aragon had encouraged because the presence of an English army interposed between him and the French greatly assisted him in his designs upon Navarre. But the campaign proved a miserable fiasco ; none of the supplies that Ferdinand had promised were forthcoming ; the men clamoured for beer and higher pay ; discipline was badly maintained, and finally the army became so unruly that it had to be disbanded. Ferdinand was very indignant, and in deference to his demand that a charge of mutiny should be preferred against the English troops, the Spanish Ambassador tells us that the Captains, including Lords Herbert, Willoughby, Ferrers, and Leonard Grey, knelt before the King at Westminster and were cross-questioned by the Chancellor (Archbishop Warham). The defence that they made seems to have impressed the King, but the Terouenne campaign, which was so brilliantly organized by Wolsey in the following year, was necessary to restore a respect on the Continent for England's military capacity. In the Terouenne campaign Lord Willoughby served in the "avaunt-garde" under Lord Lisle, who twenty years later, as Duke of Suffolk, was to marry his daughter. Lord Willoughby provided two captains, two petty captains, and one hundred and ninety-five soldiers from his Suffolk and Lincolnshire estates ; he was paid at the rate of six shillings and eightpence a day.

In June 1516 Lord Willoughby married as his second wife Mary de Salinas, one of Queen Katherine's Spanish ladies and daughter of Don Martin de Salinas by his wife Dona Josepha Gonzales de Salas. Francesco de Rojas, Captain-General of Castile (who, as Spanish envoy in Rome, was responsible for obtaining the dispensation from Pope Julius which enabled Katherine of Aragon to marry Henry VIII), bore the title of Count de Salinas, and in consequence Maria de Rojas, one of the Spanish

ladies who came to England with Katherine, has often been confused with Maria de Salinas. They had this in common: both Marias seem to have been great favourites with the Queen. When Katherine was still Princess of Wales she wrote to her father, King Ferdinand, about a projected marriage between Maria de Rojas and the son of the Earl of Derby; but for some reason this marriage did not take place, and after being engaged to the son of Dona Elvira, Katherine's duenna, Maria finally returned to Spain and married Don Alvaro de Medoca. When the divorce proceedings were pending in 1531, Charles V wrote to the Empress to ask her to collect evidence in Spain concerning Katherine's marriage with Prince Arthur, and one of the people whom the Emperor specially mentioned was Maria de Rojas. Maria, he stated, had slept with the Queen after Prince Arthur's death, and was now the wife of Don Alvaro de Medoca. It seems probable that the two Marias were relations and that when Maria de Rojas returned to Spain to be married the younger Maria de Salinas came in her place. For had the latter been the Queen's contemporary, she would have been twenty-eight at the time of her marriage, an age which in those days would have been considered old for a bride; and judging by a letter of Diego Columbus, son of Christopher Columbus, which has just come to light, Spanish maidens were not averse to travelling overseas in search of husbands. When Diego was appointed Governor of the Indies in 1508 he embarked, he tells us, with his wife, brother, two uncles and some young ladies "more distinguished for their noble lineage than for their doubloons."

At the time of her marriage with Henry VIII, Katherine dismissed most of her Spanish attendants; the only two ladies that she kept being Agnes de Venegas and Maria de Salinas. The former soon after married Lord Mountjoy, and from that time onwards Mary de Salinas seems to have been the Queen's favourite lady.

The extraordinary behaviour of Don Diego, Katherine's Spanish confessor, and Katherine's no less extraordinary infatuation for him, made the task of a Spanish Ambassador a very difficult one; Luis Caros, who held this post in 1514, writes to Friar de Extunga, the Provincial of Aragon, as follows on this topic:

The Queen of England greatly requires some discreet and intelligent person who could take care as well of her soul as of the government of her house and person, and who could give her advice how to behave towards the English, and towards the Spaniards, and how she could best serve the interests of the King of Aragon. . . . The Queen has the best intentions, but there is no one to show her how she may become serviceable to her father. The principal fault lies with her Confessor, Friar Diego Fernandez, who has told her that she ought to forget Spain, and everything Spanish, in order to gain the love of the King of England and of the English. She has become so much accustomed to this idea that she will not change her behaviour unless some person, who is near her, tells her in every case what she ought to do to be useful to the King her father. The few Spaniards who are still in her household, prefer to be the friends of the English, and neglect their duties as subjects of the King of Spain. The worst influence on the Queen is exercised by Dona Maria de Salinas, whom the Queen loves more than any other mortal. Dona Maria has a relation of the name of John Adursa, who is a merchant in Flanders and a friend of Juan Manuel. He hopes, through the protection of Juan Manuel, to be made Treasurer to the Prince of Castile. By means of John Adursa and Dona Maria de Salinas, Juan Manuel is able to dictate to the Queen of England how she must behave. The consequence is that I can never make use in my negotiations of the influence which the Queen has in England, nor can I obtain through her the smallest advantage in any respect. I am treated by the English not as an ambassador but like a bull at whom every one throws darts.*

* *Spanish Chron.*, No. 201, p. 248.

This letter makes it clear that Maria de Salinas was a Castilian. For the Castilians had deeply resented King Ferdinand's retention of his wife's kingdom, and the Juan Manuel, who is referred to in this letter, had been the former advisor of the Archduke Philip,* whose wife Juana, should have succeeded her mother, Queen Isabella, as Queen of Castile. The sudden death of *Philippe le Beau* at Burgos in Spain at the early age of twenty-seven, had led many people to believe that he had been poisoned by his father-in-law.

Writing to King Ferdinand in October 1515 Katherine speaks of the approaching departure to Spain of Maria de Salinas. The scandalous behaviour of Friar Diego had at length led to his dismissal, and after recommending her confessor to the King's favour, the Queen goes on to beg her father to assist Maria de Salinas who, she says, has faithfully served her and who, in the hours of trial, has always comforted her.† Her contemplated return to her own country may have brought about Mary's marriage with Lord Willoughby. Like her mistress, who, during her six years of widowhood had always dreaded a return to Spain, Mary probably wished to remain in England. And unions between his own subjects and his wife's Spanish ladies were very popular with the King. At the time of Agnes de Venegas' marriage with Lord Mountjoy, Henry wrote to King Ferdinand that he hoped their example might be followed by many others, till the noblest families in Spain and England were united, like the reigning houses, by domestic ties. And in the case of the Willoughby marriage the King gave a signed proof of his favour :

Grant ; in consideration of Lord Willoughby's marriage with Mary de Salinas to him & his wife, in tail of the reversion of the Manors of Grymesthorpe, Southorpe & Edenham, Lincs ; & also of Grymesthorpe

* Son of the Emperor Maximilian.

† *Spanish Chron.*, No. 238, p. 273.

Park, granted by patent 6 December, I Henry VIII to John, Earl of Oxford, & Elizabeth his wife, they having been forfeited by Lord Lovel.*

The house at Grimsthorpe must originally have been built by a member of the Gant family. When the Gant line became extinct, Edenham, which included Grimssthorpe, was granted by Edward I to Sir Henry de Beaumont, who was summoned to Parliament in 1309. The last Viscount Beaumont died in 1505; his widow married the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, so that when Henry VIII granted Grimsthorpe to her and her husband in 1509, the Countess of Oxford was confirmed in the possession of her former home. The Earl of Oxford died in 1516 leaving no children, and the title passed to his nephew, but the Countess retained Grimsthorpe up to the time of her death in 1537.

Besides this very substantial grant of lands the King paid his wife's lady-in-waiting the further compliment of naming one of his new ships the *Mary Willoughby*. In a contemporary portrait † of Mary de Salinas which was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Lindsey, her appearance is not prepossessing; pictures of that date are, however, seldom flattering, and she was probably pretty. At the time of Katherine's marriage with Prince Arthur, Henry VII had specially stipulated that her ladies should be good looking as they then would be more likely to find husbands and so relieve him of the cost of their maintenance. And Giustiniani, the Venetian

* Francis Lord Lovel was chamberlain to Richard III, and according to Lord Bacon's history he was last seen alive swimming the Trent after the battle of Stoke. But early in the eighteenth century, when some excavations were being made at Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire, a cellar was discovered and in it, seated at a table, was the skeleton of a man which was supposed to be that of Lord Lovel. As a Yorkist his estates had been forfeited. His mother had been sister and co-heir of the last Viscount Beaumont, and on the death of the latter without issue Grimsthorpe and the remainder of Lord Beaumont's property had lapsed to the Crown.

Cal. S. P., Vol. II, No. 2172.

† This portrait disappeared mysteriously from Uffington about twenty years ago.

Ambassador, after describing the Queen as being rather ugly than otherwise, goes on to say that "the damsels of her court were handsome and made a sumptuous appearance." Describing the Mayday revels on Shooters Hill in 1515 he writes :

Her Highness was most excellently attired & with her were twenty-five damsels, mounted on white palfreys, with housings of the same fashion, most beautifully embroidered in gold, & these damsels had all dresses slashed with lama, in very costly trim, with a number of footmen in most excellent order.*

Lord Willoughby's marriage to Mary de Salinas took place at Greenwich, probably in the Chapel of the Observant Friars, where the King and Queen had been secretly married. At his own marriage the King's offering had been ten shillings; in his expenses for June 1516 six shillings and eightpence is entered as the King's offering at Lord Willoughby's marriage.

* *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*

CHAPTER II

Parham—Field of the Cloth of Gold—Trial of the Duke of Buckingham—French campaign of 1523—Lord Willoughby's expenditure—Death—Will.

KATHERINE WILLOUGHBY was born at Parham Old Hall on March 22, 1519. Four days later she was christened in the church that had been built there by William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (whose sister Cecilie brought the Parham property into the Willoughby family). A paten bearing the Earl's arms is still preserved at the church. Katherine had two brothers, Henry and Francis, who both died as infants. Francis must have owed his name to the meeting between the French and English kings in 1521, and must therefore have been younger than Katherine. Both Lord and Lady Willoughby attended the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the suite of Queen Katherine. Though this was a less coveted position than being in the King's train, permission to attend at all was considered a great privilege. For generations Englishmen had only gone to France to fight; few had ever been there in times of peace. The choice was supposed to rest with the King, but Wolsey made the final selection, and he incurred much unpopularity owing to the number of people whom he was obliged to disappoint.

Katherine probably spent most of her early childhood at Parham, as Lady Willoughby seems to have been in constant attendance upon Queen Katherine. According to the rules for the Household drawn up by Wolsey, Lady Boleyn and Lady Willoughby had each a room

allotted to them at Court, and breakfasts were provided for them, the King and Queen, Wolsey himself, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and others.* It is laid down that even on the Queen's watch none under a baron was to have breakfast in the King's house. A regular scale of allowance was made out for every degree from a Duke or Duchess to the Queen's laundress. A Duke or a Duchess was provided with one "chelt lof," one "manchet," and one gallon of ale in the morning, and the same fare was allowed for supper, with a pitcher of wine as well. A Marquis and Marchioness had smaller allowances, and so on until the laundress was reached, Wolsey also drew up strict rules for economizing in fuel, light, bread, ale, and wine, and there is an order that only a few spaniels were to be kept at court for the ladies, and that greyhounds and other dogs were to be kept in kennels outside.

Lord Willoughby was one of the twenty-two peers who tried the Duke of Buckingham in 1521; two years later he served in the French campaign under the Duke of Suffolk. The English army marched through Picardy without encountering any resistance, and after a few minor successes it arrived within eleven miles of Paris. This achievement raised the most extravagant hopes in England, and the King fully believed that his pretensions to the throne of France were about to be realized. But the organization of the Terouenne campaign was lacking; there was the same difficulty about supplying the men with meat and beer as in the Guienne expedition; and there was no money to pay the men in spite of the King having received the largest subsidy that had ever yet been granted. A bitter frost set in; disorder arose; the Burgundian allies dismissed their German mercenaries; and finally the Duke of Suffolk, who had intended to march back his army in squadrons to Calais, was obliged to disband it. The Duke was much blamed,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. III, p. 1, No. 491.

and he and his captains were detained in disgrace at Calais. Even when they were permitted to return, it was some time before they were allowed to appear at Court.

In 1525 Lord Willoughby drew up a statement of his expenditure. It is headed "Feys and Annuities going out of my lands," and is endorsed "Certificates made by certayn noblemen of the value and extent of their lands." The document is signed "William Willoughby."

The entries are as follows :

My brother Sir Christopher, 300 marks.

My brother Sir John, £40.

My brother Thomas, £50.

My brother George, 20 marks.

My brother Sir Robert, the priest, 10 marks.

[Priests were often designated as Sir, especially if they were chaplains.]

My Lady Oksinforth, £50.

[The Countess of Oxford, widow of John, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, who now owned Grimsthorpe.]

Sir Thomas Lovell, £10.

The King's Chamberlain, 5 marks.

My solicitor, 40s.

My cousin John Jenny, £4.

[Lord Willoughby's mother was Marjory Jenny.]

My cousin Christopher Jenny, the Queen's attorney, 40s.

My attorney, 40s.

Thos. Rush, receiver of my lands in Norfolk and Suffolk, 10 marks.

Christopher Herman, surveyor of the same, £5.

Edmund Place, 5 marks.

Henry Doyle, 4 marks.

Rauffe Ball, keeper of my old park at Parham, £3.

Robert Covell, keeper of my new park, £3.

Thomas Base, keeper of Benall park, £3.

[Benall Park, Suffolk, had belonged to the De la Poles

and had been granted to Lord Willoughby on their attainder.]

John Woddowis, keeper of the game there, £5.
 Thomas Colman, overseer of my woods, 4 marks.
 Larman, keeper of my orchards and gardens, 40s.
 Roger Huntynge, Bailiff of my husbandry, 40s.
 Bryan, my auditor in Suffolk and Norfolk, 5 marks.

Lincs. Jaffray Panell, 4 marks.
 John Robinson, 4 marks.
 Palmer, keeper of my courts, £5.
 John Hastings, keeper of my manor and park of Eresby, £5.

[Lord Willoughby had inherited Eresby, near Spilsby, through Alice Beke. John, first Lord Beke, was granted a license in 1295 to make a castle of his manor house of Beke. The house at Eresby was burnt down in the eighteenth century and only the park now remains.]

Wm. Woodforth, keeper of my manor and park of Hellowe, £5.

[The manor and park of Hellowes had been granted to Lord Willoughby in 1511, for the remainder of the term of ten years for which they had been granted to the King by Act of Parliament.]

Stonor, surveyor and receiver of my lands in Lincolnshire, 20 marks.

[This Francis Stonor was a priest.]

Wallez, auditor there, £5.
 Thomas Delalande, 5 marks.
 John a Loo, overseer of my woods, 1 mark.
 John a Lee, the Cardinal's cook, £5.

Paying for my lady my mother's debts, £20 a year, besides fees of bailiff, and household servants; and so there remains about 1000 marks of my lands.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IV, No. 185.

The last reference to Lord Willoughby is contained in a letter to Wolsey, written by the Duke of Norfolk. It is dated December, and, as Lord Willoughby died on October 14, 1526, the letter was probably written in December of the previous year :

While at Framlingham Lord Willoughby, the Abbot of Syston, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir John Hennyngham, and other gentlemen, with above 20 of the most honest yeomen in the county asked me to obtain from the King, permission to export cheese, butter, "sparling," red herring, etc., to Flanders, as they were wont, or else their rents will be unpaid, and the whole country impoverished. I enquired of Thomas Roushe and Thomas Alfore, the customers, and I was told the restraint came for all manner of victuals, and some time after, Palmer of London or his brother, the King's servant, got the license for a certain quantity to pass; he allowed only those who would pay him to send, whereby the King looses a great sum on his customs and the subjects are impoverished.*

Lord Willoughby died at Hertford in Suffolk, and was buried at Mettingham in Norfolk, although he left directions in his will that he wished to be buried at Spilsby. This was probably in consequence of his widow's dislike of her brother-in-law, Sir Christopher, who was then living in Lincolnshire.

WILL OF WILLIAM, LORD WILLOUGHBY OF ERESBY.

4th May, 1526.

My body to be buried in the Collegiate Church of Spilsby. To the Church at Parham, for my tithes and offerings negligently forgotten, £6.

[A list of manors follows with the names of those to whom they are severally bequeathed.]

Also I will that my Manors of Orby, Brugh, Hoggisthorpe, Skidbrok, Belcheforth and Folleby in the County

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. V, p. 7, No. 3649.

of Lincoln shall go to the performance of my will ; and after the decease of my brother Thomas Willoughby, and Bridget his wife, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, that the Manor of Brandon in the County of Warwick shall remain for the performance of my will and payment of my debts ; also I will that a tomb be erected for me and my wife in the College of Spilsby, and another at Mettingham for the late Lord Willoughby, Sir Robert, that lieth there, my near kinsman ; also I will that there be expended upon my burial in all charges, viz., black gowns, the dole, the dinner, the carriage of my body to Spilsby, £200 sterling ; also I will that the chauntry of Spilsby have to the building of it and the church £200 in sterling money, in recompense of the lead I had there ; also I bequeath £6 every year to find a priest to sing for me, my wife, my father, mother and children and good friends ; as £4 for an obit every year for me for ninety-nine years ; to Katherine, my daughter, to my brother, Sir Christopher's son and heir, my godson, William Willoughby (a tear) with my best harness, twelve bows, eight bills and twelve sheafs of arrows. To my brother George's son and heir, ten Almaine rivets.

[The names of eight nephews or nephew's sons follow. Almain rivets are left to each of them.]

To Elizabeth Fynes, my kinswoman, £20 to her marriage, if she be ruled by my wife, and my brother, Sir John.*

Lord Willoughby venerated the memory of Robert, sixth Lord Willoughby so greatly that he had paid for masses to be said for the repose of his kinsman's soul, besides making this provision in his will for a tomb.

Lord Willoughby's father, Sir Christopher Willoughby, had also left money in his will for a tomb † for his great uncle.

* Nicolas, *Testamenta*, Vol. II, pp. 620-22.

† A building used to stand in the moat at Parham which is said to have had the appearance of a canopied tomb. It seems probable that this structure was the tomb intended for the grave at Mettingham, and that for some reason it was never conveyed there. Now the building is no longer at Parham. It was removed some years ago to the United States of America.

CHAPTER III

Dispute over Katherine Willoughby's inheritance—Her wardship purchased by the Duke of Suffolk—Her life in the French Queen's household—Westhorpe—Death and funeral of the French Queen.

KATHERINE was seven at the time of her father's death, and, though she then became Baroness Willoughby, her inheritance was to be a source of dispute for many years to come. There was a doubt as to which lands were settled on heirs male and which on heirs general, and the matter was further complicated by the deed that her father had drawn up prior to the Guienne expedition. Lord Willoughby's next brother, Sir Christopher,* accused his sister-in-law, Lady Willoughby, of having appropriated possessions that had been apportioned to him by this deed.

Lady Willoughby had never given him tidings of his brother's sickness, death and will. She had refused to deliver up the evidences that were in sealed chests, and had caused two of her chaplains to break the seals, and carry them away in carts, and she had also obtained divers subsidies of the escheators, and compelled him, for lack of the original deeds, to make manifold searches among the records of the Tower. . . . Lady Willoughby had craftily procured from Queen Katherine letters to the Lord Cardinal commanding Sir Christopher to avoid the Manor of Parham and other lands, by which she entered and ransacked the house, felled the wood, killed the game, etc.†

And in 1527 Sir Christopher preferred further charges :

* Sir Christopher Willoughby, knighted at Tournai . . . in 1513.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 224.

An order that had been made by the Lord Cardinal that my sister, Lady Willoughby, should bring into Chancery all such evidences as she and the other executors of my Lord, my brother, had in keeping in London in order that it might be seen by counsel on both sides which lands were entailed on heirs male and which on heirs general. Lady Willoughby, however, brought only a little coffer sealed, declaring that it contained all the evidences, except those touching the lands of her jointure and those mentioned in her husband's will, that she declared openly in Chancery that she would not show in Court.

Sir Christopher then goes on to state that, while he has obeyed the order, given by Wolsey, not to meddle in the matter until an order should be taken between him and his sister-in-law, she does the contrary :

Mr. White and Thomas Russhe, whom the Lord Cardinal had commissioned to view the goods of the late Lord Willoughby in Norfolk and Suffolk, saw those that he left at the Barbican (in London) and then went to Parham, where they found that Lady Willoughby had conveyed away all the goods of her husband, including those that he had bequeathed to Sir Christopher, heir-looms that had been there for sixty years.*

Unfortunately the schedule of goods that accompanied this letter has been lost. A diamond which had belonged to the Earl of Suffolk had been left to Lord Willoughby by his father, and was probably amongst them.

Although the manor of Parham had been part of Cecilie Ufford's inheritance, it had been settled by the fifth Lord Willoughby on his second son, Sir Thomas, so that Sir Christopher was now undoubtedly the rightful owner. Traces of an outer moat some distance from the present one have been discovered, and Parham must have been a place of defence from very early times. The present house was built by Katherine's father. It

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 3474.



Parham Old Hall

originally ran round four sides of a square, but now only two parts are left. The work there is less fine than at Great Snoring and East Barsham, which are of the same date, but even in its present neglected condition, and in spite of its incongruous roofs and windows, Parham and its moat make a very arresting picture.

In March 1528 the wardship of Katherine Willoughby was bought by the Duke of Suffolk.

March 1st, 1528. Katherine, Lady Willoughbys daughter and heir of William, Lord Willoughby, Lands, [here comes a blank in the MS.]. Sold to Charles, Duke of Suffolk for £2,266.13.4., with £40 amite. Termine Pascae.*

The system of wardships provided a fruitful source of revenue to the King, and also enabled him to control the marriage of his wards. Parents in feudal times consequently favoured early marriages because this was the only means by which a father could prevent the sale of the wardship and marriage of his children after his death.

In consequence of becoming Katherine's guardian, the Duke of Suffolk now intervened in the family quarrel. On the day that he purchased her wardship, he forwarded to Wolsey the following letter

JOHN COPLEDIKE to the DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

Sir Christopher Willoughby entered into the Manor of Eresby with two priests and four servants. He immediately sent off for Wm. Sandon the elder, a man with £150 lands, dwelling within a mile, and John Hasting, a parker there, and declared to them that he entered as claiming his own inheritance, and would enter the lordship of Willoughby in likewise. Sir Christopher is making an inventory of Lord Willoughby's goods, saying he was informed by Dr. Allen that my Lady Willoughby would not occupy as Lord Willoughby's executor; he therefore would occupy as next heir to his

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 5500.

brother. Also there is provision made this Lent at Eresby, where my Lady his wife,* is expected on Thursday to keep household. I hear Master Willoughby's title is by convenants of marriage made between Lord Willoughby and Master Tailboys for the marriage of said Sir Christopher, when Lord Willoughby went to Spain.†

According to the letter written by the Duke of Suffolk to Wolsey, a great part of the evidences, dealing with the inheritance of his ward, was preserved at Eresby, and consequently it would be much to her prejudice should it fall into the hands of her uncle.‡ It seems that the Duke's intervention was efficacious, for Sir Christopher was called to account, and he had to excuse himself to Wolsey. The Cardinal's anger, he says, was "worse to him than death," and he assured Wolsey that he had entered the Manor of Eresby "quite peaceably."§

The manor of Eresby near Spilsby in Lincolnshire, which had come through Alice Beke, had passed to the Welles family; consequently Lord Willoughby had the power to leave it to this daughter.

It seems unnatural that Katherine should have been parted from her mother at such an early age, but Lady Willoughby had much to engross her. Besides her quarrel with her brother-in-law, Queen Katherine's matrimonial troubles were a matter of great concern to her, the King's infatuation for Anne Boleyn having now become an open secret. Princess Mary had a separate establishment, so that Lady Willoughby was no worse placed than her mistress in being separated from her daughter. Moreover the change must have been all to Katherine's advantage. The Duke's wife, the dowager

* Elizabeth Tailboys, daughter of Sir George Tailboys. Her brother Sir Gilbert Tailboys married Elizabeth Blount, mistress of Henry VIII, and mother of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond.

† *Cal. S.P.*, Vol. VII, p. 2, No. 223.

‡ *Cal. S.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 3997.

§ *Cal. S.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 4184.

Queen of France, was noted for her kindness to her dependants; besides her own two daughters, who were about the same age as Katherine, Suffolk's daughters by a former marriage were living with her, as well as her niece, Lady Margaret Douglas.*

The French Queen had been a prominent figure at her brother's court, but since Anne Boleyn had come into favour, Mary had preferred to absent herself, not caring, as it was said, "to take a second place to Mistress Anne." She seems now to have lived principally at Westhorpe near Bury St. Edmunds, one of the houses which had belonged to the attainted De la Poles. It is recorded of the French Queen that she took a great interest in the garden at Westhorpe, and had it laid out in the French fashion, which comprised set alleys with arbours and trellis work. The term "knot garden," which is usually associated with the parterres of such gardens, had originated a few years previously at Thornbury in Gloucestershire.†

The house at Westhorpe was pulled down in 1785, and Martin, the Thetford historian, who visited it while it was being demolished, has left us the following account:

I went to see the dismal ruins of Westhorpe Hall. The workmen are now pulling it down. The copings, bricks, battlements and many other ornamental pieces, made of earth and burnt hard and as fresh as when first built. They might with care have been taken down whole, but all the fire chimneys, and ornaments were pulled down with ropes, and crushed to pieces in the most shameful manner. The painted glass is like to share the same fate. The timber is very fresh and

* Daughter of the Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret of Scotland.

† In the Duke of Buckingham's accounts, we read: "To Wynde, gardiner, for diligence in making Knots in the Duke's garden, by report of Mistress Snow, gentlewomen of the Duchess, 3/4" *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. III., p. 1, Nos. 1285-1287.

A knot was the Stafford crest, and the gardener had doubtless chosen this design as a delicate compliment to the Duke.

sound, and the building, which is very lofty, stood as erect as when first built.*

Although nothing is now left of the old house at Westhorpe, the French Queen's arms may still be seen in the neighbourhood on a stone above the upper window in West Stow Gatehouse, which was formerly the property of Sir John Croft, a member of her household.

The next reference to Katherine occurs in 1533 when she acted as one of the chief mourners at the funeral of the French Queen. That spring the Queen's elder daughter, Frances Brandon, had been married in London to the Marquis of Dorset. After the wedding the Queen returned to Westhorpe, while the Duke of Suffolk remained in London to superintend, in his capacity of Earl Marshal, the arrangements for Anne Boleyn's coronation. He was still there when the news of his wife's serious illness reached him, and, although he and his son-in-law, Dorset, set out immediately, Mary was dead before they could reach Westhorpe. Her body lay in state for three weeks in the chapel; on July 21 it was borne on a funeral car to the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury. It is curious to picture the long funeral procession winding along the rough tracks then dignified with the name of roads. First came a hundred poor men clothed in black and carrying tapers; then clergy, officials, and heralds. The funeral car, which came next, was followed by the chief mourners who, according to the custom of the day, were all women. Each lady was attended by a bare-headed lackey: the Marchioness of Dorset's horse was caparisoned in black velvet to mark her position as chief mourner, while the horses of the other five ladies had trappings of black cloth. Two mourning coaches followed the chief mourners; the women attendants of the dead Queen walked on foot, and in the rear came a

* *A Topographical and Historical description of the County of Suffolk*, pp. 513-14.

phalanx of yeomen and servants. When the funeral procession arrived at the boundary of each new parish, it was met by a deputation bearing torches, and money to pay their expenses and escutcheons were bestowed upon these deputations. On reaching St. Edmundsbury, more clergy joined the procession, and from the Abbey gate to the high altar, a distance of more than five hundred yards, the scene presented one long vista of black cloth hung with escutcheons. Royal funerals must have brought much custom to the cloth trade! The Abbey of St. Edmundsbury was destroyed at the Reformation, but Leland has left us a description of it :

A monastery more noble, whether one considers the endowments, largeness or unparalleled magnificence, the sun never saw. One might think the monastery alone a city. It has three grand gates for entrances, some whereof are of brass, many towers, high walls, and a church, than which nothing can be more magnificent, as appendages to which there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanship in the same churchyard, St. Mary's, St. James's and St. Margaret's.

The Queen's body was placed on a hearse before the high altar ; on the hearse were the Queen's arms, and her motto, "*La Volonté de Dieu me suffit.*" Next day the Requiem Mass was said, and at its conclusion the chief mourners made their offerings in the following order : first came Lady Powis and Lady Mounteagle, Suffolk's daughters by a previous wife, then the two Ladies Willoughby, and lastly the Queen's two daughters. The offerings consisted of palls of cloth of gold, which were carried by the ladies to the coffin, and placed in turn upon it, by Garter-King-at-Arms. Then, when the ladies had returned to their places, the funeral sermon was preached by the Abbot of St. Bennet, one of the many people whom the dead Queen had befriended. Nor were the poor forgotten. On the day of the funeral "a great dole" was provided in four places in the town.

Meat and drink were given away, and every poor person was given fourpence.*

When the Abbey church was destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries, the French Queen's tomb was destroyed also, but her coffin was rescued and re-interred in St. Mary's Church in the Abbey churchyard, under some of the altar-slabs from the Abbey.

* Green, *Lives of Princesses of England*, Vol. V, p. 141.

CHAPTER IV

Katherine's marriage with the Duke of Suffolk—The Brandon family—The Duke's previous marriages—His secret marriage with Mary Tudor—Henry VIII's anger—Tribute levied from his sister—Birth of Queen Elizabeth—Suffolk's debts—Made Justice of the Forests on this side Trent—Letter from Sir Thomas Audley.

MARY TUDOR was buried on July 22. Scarcely six weeks later, Chapuys, the Emperor's Ambassador, wrote the following news to his master :

On Sunday next the Duke of Suffolk will be married to the daughter of a Spanish lady named Lady Willoughby. She was promised to the Duke's son, but he is only ten years old, & although it is not worth writing to your Majesty, the novelty of the case made me mention it. The Duke will have done a service to the ladies who can point to his example, when they are reproached, as it is usual, with marrying again immediately after the death of their husbands.*

The Ambassador's insinuation that widows were more quickly consoled than widowers is borne out by the fact that the Duke of Suffolk waited six weeks before he married again, while Katherine Parr married Lord Seymour only four weeks after the death of Henry VIII.

The Spanish Chronicle has a chapter dealing with the Duke of Suffolk which records what must have been the current gossip although it was obviously written at a later date, and although many details are incorrect.

* *Cal. S. P.* Vol. VI, No. 1069.

When the King left the blessed Queen Katherine, the Queen Dowager of France, wife of the Duke of Suffolk, was so much attached to her that the sight of her brother leaving his wife brought on an illness from which she died. During that time the Duke tried to get his son married to the daughter of Lady Willoughby, who was a Spaniard, who had gone to England with the blessed Queen & afterwards married a gentleman named Lord Willoughby, who had over 15,000 ducats a year. They had a daughter, of whom I speak, & to whom the Duke succeeded in marrying his son. He was a lad of sixteen & Lady Willoughby was fifteen ; & in the meanwhile, as I say, the Queen Dowager died of grief, & the Duke, who went every day to Lady Willoughby's, fell in love with the wife of his son & determined to take her away & have her for himself, which he did ; & the son, when he saw it, was so sorry that he died, & the old man married the girl. The Duke, so long as the Queen lived, had 30,000 ducats from France, but he lost it on her death. Then he got the 15,000 ducats of Lady Willoughby.

Katherine Willoughby was the Duke of Suffolk's fourth wife. Charles Brandon came of an old yeoman family in Suffolk, and his grandfather, Sir William Brandon, had enriched himself in trade. The Duke's father was standard-bearer at Bosworth to the Earl of Richmond, and he was killed by Richard III whilst defending his master.

In recognition of his father's services Charles Brandon was taken into the household first of Prince Arthur and then of the future Henry VIII ; but it was his marriages which first brought him into prominence. In 1505 he made a contract of marriage with Anne Browne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, the Constable of Calais. In a document drawn up some years later it is stated that :

Before any solemnization of the marriage Sir Charles Brandon not only had a daughter by Mrs. Anne Browne but also brake promise with her & married Lady Mortimer. Which marriage the said Mrs. Anne Browne

accused to be unlawful, for that the said Sir Charles had made a pre-contract with her.*

Lady Mortimer was Lady Margaret Nevill, widow of Sir John Mortimer, and daughter of the Marquis of Montague, the Kingmaker's brother. Her marriage to Charles Brandon must have made quite a sensation, for twenty years later the Italian Ambassador writes :

In this country young men marry old ladies for their money & here for instance is the Duke of Suffolk, who at nineteen married a lady for her wealth, in whose house he dwelt & who is old enough to be his mother.†

In those days the Ecclesiastical Courts took into account spiritual affinity as well as consanguinity, and in this case the family connections were quite sufficient to render the marriage invalid, since Lady Margaret was sister to Anne Browne's mother, while her late husband's brother had also married Brandon's great aunt. The document further states :

Sentence between the said Sir Charles & Lady Mortimer having been given, he married the said Mrs. Anne Browne, at which all the nobility were present & did honour to it, & after had by her another daughter. After the said Mrs. Anne Browne continued with all her life & lived his wife without impeachment of that marriage.

After Anne Browne's death Brandon was given the wardship and marriage of the young Lady Lisle, aged ten ; he was allowed to assume her title, and he bore it until he was made a Duke. At the conclusion of the Terouenne campaign, the Archduchess Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, who was acting as Governor of the Netherlands, showed Brandon much favour, and for nearly a year it was believed that she would marry

* *Cal. S. P.* Vol. IV, Part I, No. 736. " Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk and Mary the French Queen—an argument touching the validity of their marriage and the legitimacy of their daughter Lady Francis."

† *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.* Guistiniani.

him. This belief was strengthened when the King in February 1514, created Brandon Duke of Suffolk,* to assist him, it was thought, in his suit. Not unnaturally there was much gossip on the subject. Hearing reports of this gossip, the Archduchess became very indignant. She accused Suffolk of having been indiscreet and, when the King suggested sending the Duke to her court as his ambassador, she gave a final blow to his hopes by refusing to receive him. Any disappointment, however, that Suffolk may have felt cannot have lasted long. This same year Mary Tudor, the King's younger sister, broke off her marriage with the Archduke Charles, the future Emperor, and although she was induced, on patriotic grounds, to marry King Louis XII of France, a sickly elderly widower, her partiality for Suffolk was an open secret. Three months after the marriage King Louis died, and strange though it seems, Suffolk was chosen by Henry to fetch home his sister, the King merely extorting a promise from him that he would not attempt to marry her during his mission. Mary herself, in the meantime, had been subjected to a very trying ordeal. French etiquette demanded that as a widow she should live in the strictest seclusion at Cluny Abbey in darkened rooms. Jealousy had induced King Louis to dismiss her English suite the day after their marriage, so that Mary had only foreigners about her. The new King, Francis I, to whom rules of etiquette did not apply, and who consequently had free access to her, now pestered Mary with his attentions. Francis I was married to his cousin Claude,† the late king's daughter, but as he had been assured by astrologers that his plain little wife could not possibly survive the birth of the child that she was expecting, he felt no compunction in paying his addresses to his uncle's widow. Finally, in order to rid herself of his importunities, Mary confessed to him that she was in

* John de la Pole, the last Duke of Suffolk, had been attainted.

† Claude, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany.

love with Suffolk. Now Mary was not only beautiful, she was also an important political pawn, so that, if he could not marry her himself, the next best thing, as Francis was quick to perceive, was to marry her off to some one like Suffolk who was of no political importance. Accordingly, he assured Mary that she could count upon his support, and on Suffolk's arrival told him of Mary's confession. Suffolk seems to have been duly sensible of the delicacy of the situation, but Mary's demeanour at their first interview proved too much for his resolution. She acknowledged her love for him: "If I would be ordered by her, she would have none but me," * he writes. She dwelt upon King Francis's overtures, the persecutions to which she had been subjected by friars sent over by Suffolk's enemies in England, and her fears that, on her return to England, she would be sent to Flanders to marry the Archduke; sooner than that she would be torn in pieces. Upon which, says Suffolk, "she wept, I never saw woman so weep," and Mary, seeing that he was beginning to waver, pressed her advantage:

Whereunto I put my Lord Suffolk in choice whether he would accomplish the marriage in four days, or else that he would never have enjoyed me, whereby I knew that I constrained him to break such promises as he had made unto His Grace." †

It is not difficult to guess the sequel—Mary was nineteen and reputed the greatest match in Christendom—and a few days later the pair were secretly married. A difficult time followed for both of them. Henry was very angry; Wolsey scarcely less so. Wolsey and Suffolk were both "new men" and as such were both hated by the old aristocracy. It was essential that they should work together; consequently Wolsey feared that this ill-advised marriage might entail his own ruin as well as the Duke's. The French also were quick to take

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. 80.

† *Ibid.*

advantage of the situation. It required three months of haggling before Suffolk and Mary were able to buy permission from Henry to return to England. Mary surrendered her English dowry of 200,000 gold crowns, and all her plate and jewels ; moreover, she undertook to pay her brother more than a third of her French jointure.

Hall thus sums up the situation :

Against this marriage many men grudged and said it was a great loss to the realm that she was not married to the Prince of Castile. But the wisest sort was content, considering that, if she had been married again out of the realm, she would have carried much riches with her ; and now she has brought into the realm nine thousand marks ; but whatsoever the rude people said, ye Duke behaved himself so that he had both the favour of the King and the people, his will and demeanour were such.

Suffolk's good looks and prowess were great assets, but he must also have had a happy combination of qualities to account for his success in life. At the time of his marriage to Katherine Willoughby, Suffolk was forty-nine years of age while she was fourteen. Unnatural marriages like this were then quite common. The Duke of Norfolk, at the age of forty-one, had married Lady Anne Stafford when she was very little older than Katherine, and the " fair Geraldine," * Surrey's inspiration, was married as quite a young girl to Sir Anthony Browne, another elderly widower. And all the evidence tends to prove that Katherine's first marriage was a very happy one. If there is mutual attraction, an older man can wield great influence over a young girl, and this would appear to have been the case in the Suffolk marriage. While Katherine had inherited certain characteristics from her English father, and others from her Castilian mother, the dominant influence during the most impressionable years of her life must have been

* Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare.

that of her first husband. It has been said that Suffolk was the only man that Henry VIII ever really loved, and the magnetism which had won him the affection of the Archduchess and of Mary Tudor seems to have been no less potent in the case of his child-wife.

The young Duchess's position at Court could not have been an easy one. The Duke of Norfolk was now living apart from his wife, so that besides the Queen and the three ladies of the blood royal, Lady Margaret Douglas, and Suffolk's two daughters, there was only the old Duchess of Norfolk to take precedence of Katherine. And the sentiments that she naturally entertained for Queen Katherine, as her mother's daughter, must have introduced some bitterness into her relations with Anne Boleyn. A fortnight after the Suffolk marriage, Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, and at the christening, the old Duchess of Norfolk, who carried the future Queen Elizabeth, had the Duke of Suffolk as one of her supporters. Though his wife took no official part in the proceedings, she was probably present. According to Chapuys, the christening, like Anne's coronation, was "very disagreeable to the court and city."

The reference in the Spanish Chronicle to Suffolk's anxiety to procure money, is fully borne out by other contemporary documents. During the time that France and England were at war, the French Queen had received no jointure. Suffolk and she must always have spent more than they had, and at her death she owed her brother twenty thousand pounds.

In a letter to the King, the Duke prays for an allowance for this sum as well as the two thousand pounds owing to Sir Thomas Wyatt, in payment of which he requests that the King will take such jewels as he lately showed to him and Thomas Cromwell. At this time, it was a recognised fact that no suitor must go empty handed to Cromwell; but in spite of his present of jewels, Suffolk

had to wait two years before he was granted a release of his late wife's debts. Moreover, he had heavy expenses to meet. There are entries of £1,666 for the Marquis of Dorset's marriage, £1,000 for Lord Mounteagle's debts, and £209 for Lady Mounteagle's * debts. One of the Duke's attempts to find money is described in the following letter. (Hognorton was one of the houses formerly belonging to the De La Pole family that the King had bestowed upon Suffolk.)

RICHARD CAVENDISH to SUFFOLK. *April*, 1534.

According to your Grace's letter I am at Norton with John Van Anderwerpe and Hans de Froment, who are applying themselves with diligence to finding the vein. Nothing has yet been found, and it is believed that the glitter is but the scum of the metal that groweth beneath the ground. The people are as glad as ever I saw to further the matter for in an old evidence the place is called Gold Norton, which proves that gold may be found there.†

This same year Suffolk was given the "Justiceship of the Forests on this side Trent" in exchange for the office of Earl Marshal, which he relinquished to the Duke of Norfolk. Shortly after, the Abbot of Beaulieu died, and Suffolk, whose jurisdiction extended over the New Forest, was consulted about the appointment of his successor.

The Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, writes :

Much suit is made for the Abbot of Beaulieu's room. Whoever is appointed should be a man of good gravity and circumstance and not base of stomach or faint of heart as need shall require. The place standeth so wildly and it is a great sanctuary & boundeth upon a great forest, where sanctuary men do much displeasure, if they be not well and substantially looked after.‡

* The Duke's younger daughter by Anne Browne.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VII, No. 800.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VI, No. 1007.

According to the law in those days, if a sanctuary man confessed his crime to the coroner within the space of forty days, he was allowed another forty days within which to leave the country. But considering how difficult it must have been for an outlaw to find any sort of craft in which to embark, the New Forest naturally became the haunt of desperate characters.

CHAPTER V

Suffolk's mission to Queen Katherine at Buckden—His letters to the King and Privy Council—Chapuys' account of the Queen's plight—New Year's gifts to the King—Letters from the Marchioness of Dorset—Death of the Earl of Lincoln—Birth of Katherine's elder son—Illness of Katherine of Aragon—Lady Willoughby's ride to Kimbolton—Queen Katherine's death—Funeral.

JUDGING by the amount of character that Katherine Willoughby displayed in later life, she can never have been a cipher. Unfortunately, little has been recorded of her during the lifetime of her first husband, and therefore it is only by following his career that one can obtain some conception of how she spent these twelve years. She was too young to concern herself about money, but she must have been much distressed by the very unpleasant task that was allotted to Suffolk in the December after their marriage. In company with the Earl of Sussex and Richard Sampson,* the Duke was sent to Buckden Palace, where Queen Katherine was then living, to remove her to another house, and to reduce her household. It is evident from Chapuys that Suffolk undertook the task very unwillingly :

The Duke of Suffolk, before he left the city on such an errand, confessed, & partook of the Communion, as his mother-in-law has sent to inform me, declaring at the time of his departure that he wished that some accident might happen to him on the road, that should exempt him at once from accomplishing such a mission on such a journey.†

* Archdeacon of Windsor and Dean of Windsor and the Chapel Royal.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VI, No. 1558.

Buckden belonged at this time to Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the King's confessor. In addition to Lincolnshire, the see of Lincoln then comprised Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. Buckden, standing as it does close to the Great North Road, near Huntingdon, was the most central of the Bishop of Lincoln's episcopal residences. The Palace was built in 1485 by Bishop Russell, Edward IV's Chancellor, but all that now remains of it is the red-brick gateway. In 1838 half of the gatehouse was removed, and the great tower was dismantled in pursuance of an Order in Council.

Among a very meagre list of presents for the "Princess Dowager" mention is made of a letter from Lady Willoughby; thus it seems probable that Lady Willoughby took advantage of her son-in-law's mission to write to her mistress. But even a letter from her devoted lady-in-waiting can hardly have made amends to the Queen for the bullying treatment to which she was subjected.

SUFFOLK to the KING.

On Wednesday last after dinner we declared your pleasure to the Princess Dowager in her great chamber before all the servants of the house. She protested with open voice that she was your Queen & would rather be torn in pieces than depart from that assertion. She refuses the name of Princess Dowager & resisted her removal to Somersham because of her health; & for all the persuasions that could be made by us or Lord Mountjoy (the Queen's chamberlain) or Dymock, her almoner, who urged her to remove, however she might order herself on our cause. She refuses to take any person into her service sworn to her as Princess Dowager. Her servants are loth to take the new oath, as they were sworn to her as Queen, & think the second oath would be perjury, & they continued stiffly in this opinion, until we got with difficulty from them, that they had knowledge from Abel & Barker, her chaplains. We examined them & found them stiffly standing in their conscience that

she was your Queen, & no man sworn to serve her as Queen might change that oath without perjury. As they persist in this opinion, we have committed them to the Porter's lodge, there to remain without speaking till your pleasure is known. After some exhortation we have induced some of the servants to comply; some we have changed. The Bishop of Llandaff,* whom you have appointed to depart, we have suffered to remain for the present, for she has no confessor if he & Abel depart, that can speak Spanish, in which language she has always confessed. He is a man of some simplicity & will do no harm.

The Princess Dowager will not remove to Somersham against all humanity & reason unless we were to bind her with ropes. She also refuses the service of those men sworn to her as Princess Dowager, & by her wilfulness may feign herself sick & keep her bed or refuse to put on her clothes or otherwise order herself by some imagination that we cannot call to remembrance.†

And to the Privy Council, Suffolk is even more outspoken :

The Princess Dowager is the most obstinate woman that may be. There is no remedy but to convey her by force to Somersham.‡

The next letter gives Chapuys' version of the proceedings at Buckden :

The commissioners stopped six days as well to close the house as to see if the Queen, through the loss of her servants & their rough menaces, would change her purpose. But seeing she was constant, they proceeded to load the baggage & get a litter & seven horses in order to mount the Queen thereon. She had locked herself into her chamber, since the morning when the commissioners came to take her away. She told them through a hole in the wall that they must break down

* Katherine's Spanish Confessor, Atequa, had been made Bishop of Llandaff.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VI, No. 1541.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VI, No. 1571.

the wall if they wished to remove her. This they dared not do through fear of the people, that had assembled there weeping piteously, & lamenting at such cruelties. The lodging, where she is, is unhealthy enough without seeking a worse one.

But although Queen Katherine had successfully defied the Commissioners, her plight, according to Chapuys, was a most piteous one :

The Queen has not been out of her chamber since the commissioners left. She will not eat what the new servants provide her with. The little she eats in her anguish is prepared by her chamberwomen, & her room is used as her kitchen.*

Somersham,† a house belonging to the Bishop of Ely, to which it was first proposed to move the Queen, was described by Chapuys as being the most unhealthy, pestilential house in England ; Fotheringay, which had formed part of Katherine's dowry on her marriage with Prince Arthur, was no less distasteful to her, and eventually Kimbolton, which had been included in the forfeited estates of the Duke of Buckingham, was selected. The Queen removed there in 1534.

In the list of the King's New Year's gifts for this year, attention is called to two new names among the donors : the Duchess of Suffolk and the Duchess of Richmond, the latter being the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.‡ The Duke of Suffolk's present was a " book garnished with gold, having a clocke " ; § it is illuminating to note that the gifts of the bishops were almost invariably in money. As Suffolk's family were now a source of great expense to him, he may well have felt envious of his master, who could draw upon the purses

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VI, 1542.

† Somersham had originally been built by Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham.

‡ Lady Mary Howard married Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, the King's illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VII, No. 9.

of rich ecclesiastics. This year the Duke bestowed jewels valued at £524 upon the Mounteagles, and it appears from the following letters that the young Dorsets were also in want of money :

THE MARCHIONESS OF DORSET TO CROMWELL.*

I thank you for your kindness shown to me in my business & to my son, who is now at Court. Whenever you shall see him in large playing & great & unusual swearing or any other demeanour unfit for him to use, which I fear me, shall be very often, I pray you, for his father's sake, rebuke him, & if he has any grace, he will be thankful to you when he is older. I send you by my son, Medley, a little gilt pot that the King gave me, & £10 therein, & if my ability were greater, as many think it is, I would be more liberal. You are now the only comfort I have about the King. My lord of Suffolk hath sent to me to bear part of the charges as well of my son the Marquis, being at Court, as of my Lady, his wife, being in the country or else she & her train to be with us. According to the contract my Lord of Suffolk was to find the charges of my son during his minority. Yet, when he comes of age, the charges of him & his wife & all their train will fall upon me. Still, that no one may judge of me as an unnatural mother, I will help his advancement more than that of any other of my children, though my Lord of Suffolk never pressed me therein. There is no place so meet for my son as the Court, & his doing well there will be a help to my other children.

fr Sir Richard Clement's Mote in Kent.†

And four years later, Dorset's mother appeals to Cromwell again :

I beg you to call sharply on my son for his diligent service to you, which will do him more good than the little living left him by his father. There are many untrue reports of my unkindness to my son, which trouble

* Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wootton, married first William Medley and secondly Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV, by her first husband Sir John Grey.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. VII, No. 155.

me not a little, considering how good a mother I have been to him, what pains I have sustained & what bonds I have brought my friends unto for his sake since my Lord his father's death. None of the Council, I know, will credit them. I never reckoned the little portion he now enjoys sufficient to maintain his estate & I have always been willing to enlarge it with such parts of the land, liable to my late husband's will, as the Lord Chancellor & you shall think convenient. I hope that you will not dismiss my jointure.*

In March 1534, the young Earl of Lincoln died. Whether or not he resented his father's appropriation of his bride, does not appear; the assertion of the Spanish Chronicle that grief on this account was the cause of his death seems hardly credible. The comments which Chapuys makes on the Earl's death are interesting, as they show that the pretensions of Mary Tudor's children to the throne were never lost sight of. During the time that she was contracted to the future Emperor, Charles V, the Archduchess Margaret continually urged Henry VIII to settle the succession on Mary after his own children.

Chapuys writes to the Emperor :

I have been told that the Scottish ambassador considers the death of the son of the Duke of Suffolk a piece of good fortune for his master, as, though of the younger sister, his being a native would have made him a formidable competitor to the Scotch King.†

The Duke of Suffolk was not left long without a male heir, for in the September after the Earl of Lincoln's death, Katherine Willoughby gave birth to a son at the Barbican, her mother's house in London. She was then only fifteen and a half.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK to CROMWELL. *September 18, 1534.*

It has pleased God to send me a son. I beg you will

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 236.

† *S. P. Spanish Chronicle*, An. 1534, p. 83.

ask the King to make a Christian soul of him & that you will also be one of the Godfathers.*

The fact that the Duke should have thought it necessary to approach his brother-in-law, the King, through Cromwell on such a very personal matter, bears out Chapuys' assertion that Cromwell had now more influence with the King than even Wolsey had ever had. The Suffolk baby was named Henry, and among the warrants signed by the King is the following :

To the midwife & nurse at the Christening of the son of the Duke of Suffolk, £4.†

The King's gift appears to have been a very handsome one, as the midwife from Bristol who attended the Duke of Buckingham's daughter-in-law at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, only received a fee of ten shillings.

Lady Willoughby was still nursing her daughter when the news was brought her that Queen Katherine was seriously ill. The last time that she had been allowed to visit her mistress seems to have been in 1532, judging from a record of the delivery of some plate to certain persons in the neighbourhood.

An attempt that Chapuys had made in 1534 to visit the Queen had been frustrated by Henry, and according to the Ambassador, a petition made by Lady Willoughby that she should be allowed to go and wait upon her mistress had also been refused.

Your Majesty may well see & judge by the above description the extremity in which matters are & the veracity of the King's ambassadors in their reports regarding the Queen's treatment, which is worse than ever it was ; indeed, one might almost say that she is actually the King's prisoner, for not only has he taken away her property, but he has forbidden a Spanish lady,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, No. 386.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, No. 217.

who has all her life been in attendance, to serve the Queen at her own expense or even to see her.*

The Queen rallied after her attack in the autumn, but at the end of December she grew suddenly worse, and, although Lady Willoughby had not been allowed to visit her mistress, she must have had some means of communicating with her, for she now wrote to Cromwell :

When I sent my servant to you, he brought me word that you were in such important business that you could not dispatch me nor any other body. But now I must put you to pain, for I hear that my Mistress is very sore sick again. I pray you to remember me for you promised to labour with the King to get me a license to go to her before God sends for her. Unless the King will let me have a license to show the officers of my Mistress's house, my license will be of no effect. No man can help me so well as yourself.†

Chapuys must have heard of the Queen's serious illness at the same time as Lady Willoughby. His application for an audience was immediately granted. But Henry, who received him in the tilt-yard at Greenwich, made light of what he told him. It was only when the audience was over, and the Ambassador was preparing to depart, that the Duke of Suffolk was sent with a message to recall him.

The Ambassador reports to the Emperor :

The King told me that news had just come that the Queen was in extremis, & he said that, if I went, I should hardly find her alive. Moreover, that this would take away all the difficulties between your Majesty & him. I think that the danger cannot be so great because the physicians did not represent the case to me as urgent ; nevertheless I took horse at once.‡

* *S. P. Spanish Chronicle*, 1534-35, p. 75.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, No. 1040.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, No. 1063.

But although Queen Katherine's critical condition had induced the King to allow the Cardinal to go and visit her, no permission was vouchsafed to Lady Willoughby. Fearing to delay any longer, she set out from the Barbican before dawn on New Year's Eve. She was badly shaken by a fall from her horse, and some one she met on her way assured her that the Queen was dead. But nothing deterred her, and at six o'clock, long after the short winter afternoon had closed in, Lady Willoughby reached Kimbolton. When Sir Edmund Bedingfield demanded her warrant she showed him, by way of answer, the bruises that she had sustained in her fall, and begged him for the love of Jesus and Christian charity, to permit her to come in, and warm herself by the fire. Lady Willoughby was so persistent that at last Sir Edmund relented, although Cromwell had given strict orders that no one was to be admitted without a warrant, and although Stonely Priory with its guest-house was only a mile away. Once inside the Castle, she begged with such earnestness to be allowed to go to her mistress—she had letters, she declared, so soon as she could get at them, which would give her a right of entry—that she again had her way. Now Cardinal Chapuys meanwhile had shown far less alacrity, in spite of the fact that he was armed with the proper authority. He only left London on the second of January and, when he reached Kimbolton, he specially stipulated that he should be served with supper before being taken to the Queen. That night he had a short conversation with Katherine, but the Queen's custodians could not understand it as they talked in Castilian. The following day the Queen rallied, and Chapuys paid her a longer visit. But on the sixth of January Katherine grew rapidly worse, on the seventh the Last Sacrament was administered, and that same afternoon, at two o'clock, the Queen breathed her last in the arms of Lady Willoughby, who had never left the

bedside of her dying mistress from the moment of her arrival.

The room, in which Queen Katherine died at Kimbolton, is on the ground floor & looks into the deer park & across the moat towards the Castle Hill. This room & the keeper's lodge still bear her name. The boudoir, which she occupied, adjoins it. A travelling chest with her cipher stands at the foot of the staircase. A secret passage, leading from the white drawing-room into the chapel, is said to be the means by which the Queen eluded the observation & escaped from the presence of the King's spies, which is all in keeping with the reports given by Bedingfield of her secluded mode of life. . . . Though all the fronts were added by Vanbrugh, the wing occupied by Katherine is still the same in block, and from a window in Katherine's boudoir one can still see the gates at which Lady Willoughby, splashed and fainting, knocked on the winter's night & through which her tears & her eloquence forced her way to the bedside of the dying Queen.*

No attempt was made by Henry to hide his satisfaction when the news of Katherine's death was brought him. It had been her wish that she should be buried in one of the chapels belonging to the Observant Friars, of which order she had been a member, like her mother Queen Isabella. But her wish was disregarded, and Chapuys writes :

Great preparations are being made for the Queen's burial, which, as Cromwell sent to inform me, will be so magnificent, that even those who see it will hardly believe it. It is to take place on February the first. The chief mourner will be the King's niece, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the Duchess of Suffolk will be the second, the third will be the wife of the Duke of Norfolk's son. Of others there will be a great multitude. I think they mean to dress in mourning six hundred persons. Nothing is said yet of the lords, who are to be present. Cromwell

* *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Ann*, by the Duke of Manchester, Vol. I, p. 102.

since I wrote to your Majesty, has twice sent to press on my acceptance the mourning cloth, which the King wishes to give me & would gladly, by this means, bind me to be present at the interment, which the King greatly desires, but following the advice of the Queen Regent in Flanders * & several good persons, I will not go since they do not mean to bury her as Queen. I have refused the said cloth, saying I do not do it of my ill intention, but only because I was already provided. The King had intended or those of his Council, that solemn exequies should be made at the Cathedral Church of this city, & a number of Carpenters & others had been set to work to make preparations, but, since then, the whole thing has been broken off. I do not know if it was really intended, or if it was only a pretence for the satisfaction of the people, to remove sinister opinions."†

According to an account in the archives at Vienna the procedure at Queen Katherine's funeral was much the same as at Mary Tudor's. While the Queen's body rested in the chapel at Kimbolton, constant masses were said, at which the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Surrey, the Countess of Worcester, the Countess of Oxford, Lady Willoughby, and others, assisted in turn as chief mourners.

On the day before the funeral, the mourning robes of the Queen's ten ladies were completed, who up till that time, we are told, had not made any mourning, "except with kerchiefs on their heads, and old robes."‡

On the first of February the Queen's body was conveyed on a wagon to the Benedictine Abbey of Peterborough § and was attended by the seven ladies already mentioned, who rode on horses harnessed with black. After mass had been said, these seven ladies made offerings of pieces of cloth of gold in order that "accoutrements" might be made of them for the chapel, where the annual

* Queen Mary of Hungary, sister of Charles V.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 161.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 284.

§ Now Peterborough Cathedral.

service for the Queen was to be said. The sermon was preached by John Hilsey, the Bishop designate of Rochester :

who preached the same as all the preachers of England have not ceased to preach these two years, viz. against the power of the Pope, whom they call the Pope of Rome, & against the marriage of the said good Queen & King, alleging against all truth that she had acknowledged that she had not been Queen of England.*

Queen Katherine was buried in a grave by the lowest step before the high altar. The grave was opened at the end of the last century, and it was then discovered that the grave contained a second body. According to the Dean of Peterborough, who was present, the second body was that of Lady Willoughby. When they were uncovered both were perfect, but they crumbled away into dust on being exposed to the air.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 284. Vienna archives.

CHAPTER VI

Execution of Fisher and More—Suffolk's petition for More's house—Grant of Norwich Place—Suffolk Place in Southwark—Inventory of plate there—Suffolk's debts and assets—Birth of Katherine's second son—Suffolk's surrender of Ewelme and Hognorton—Dissolution of the smaller religious houses—Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn—Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour—Death of the Duke of Richmond—Triple marriage in Shoreditch.

CONDITIONS at the Court of Henry VIII were now very different from what they had been at the commencement of his reign. Then life had been one long round of pleasure. Even the wars that had been fought had only been a degree more serious than the tournaments ; and except for the menace of the sweating sickness and, in later years, for the long drawn-out divorce proceedings, there had been little to disturb the life of pageantry of which contemporary writers have left us such graphic descriptions. But the sordid intrigues of the divorce had a very demoralizing influence on Henry's character : and though he had formerly shrunk from shedding blood, one prominent subject after another was hurried to the scaffold from this time forward. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was accused of High Treason for refusing to subscribe to the Act of Succession,* and at his trial, which took place in May 1535, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were appointed to sit with the judges. Sir Thomas More was confined for over a year in the Tower on the same charge, and as he could not be induced to go against his conscience, the same judges that had

* The Act of Succession declared Henry's marriage with Katherine of Aragon to be illegal owing to her pre-contract with Prince Arthur, Henry's elder brother.

judged Fisher sentenced More. Both were executed, and their heads were set up upon London Bridge.

Suffolk was one of those who had repeatedly visited More in prison to urge him to yield, but no sooner was More dead than the Duke began to agitate to get possession of his house. For Suffolk had been required to give back to the King two of his houses, Donnington Castle and Ewelme,* and, as the lease of his London house, Suffolk Place, was running out, he wanted to get another in its stead.

Writing to Cromwell, Sir Richard Rich says :

The Duke of Suffolk is anxious that you will not grant any part of Sir Thomas's lands, lying about Chelsea, for he wishes to have the house and the lands adjoining for his surrender of Donnington and Ewelme. . . .

The Duke was not successful in his suit, as More's house at Chelsea was given to Sir William Paulet ; but he was granted by Act of Parliament what in those days must have been a far more valuable property, namely, Norwich Place, which is described as the Inn of the Bishop of Norwich. Known during the Duke's lifetime as Suffolk House, it stood at the bend of the river between Durham House and Scotland Yard. Subsequently, when it was given by Queen Mary to the see of York in compensation for Old York Place or Whitehall, it came to be known as York House. York Water Gate, built by Inigo Jones for George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, occupies, no doubt, the site of the old landing-stage used by the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.

Suffolk Place † in Southwark had been Brandon pro-

* Both part of the forfeited estates of the De la Pole family.

† " March 1550. Liberties of Southwark bought by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which was in the King's hands, so that now they shall have the whole town of Southwark by Letters Patent, as free as they have the city of London. The King's Place, Southwark Place, formerly called Suffolk, and the two prison houses of the King's Bench and the Marshalsea excepted."—*Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

Old Suffolk Place was used for a time as a mint, and Philip and Mary slept there the night before they made their state entry into London.

perty. It is described in the will of Sir Thomas Brandon, the Duke's uncle, as "my house in Southwark on lease from the Bishop of Winchester," and he left it to Jane, Lady Guylford. As Lady Guylford was living in lodgings at the Blackfriars in 1517, she must have come to some arrangement with the Duke about the Southwark house, which then came to be known as Suffolk Place. It stood on the south side of the river, close to the highway leading to London Bridge; judging by the plan that Wyngaerde made of London in 1543, it must have been a very fine building. It is said to have had two gardens in one of which there was a maze; and on one occasion, when the Emperor visited the Duke, they went hunting after dinner. It was all open country to the south, so the park must have been on that side; and it is a proof of the rigour with which the forest laws were enforced that it should have been possible to preserve deer for hunting so close to the city of London.

At Grimsthorpe there is an inventory dated 1536, and endorsed—"The Remayn of plate taken at Southwark on this date." * Fifty-six ounces of gold plate are valued at forty shillings the ounce, and gilt plate is valued at four shillings the ounce, the whole amount being valued at £1,475. Amongst the chapel plate, is a set of gilt images of various saints, and as several of these correspond with the saints mentioned in the inventory of Mary Tudor's plate when it was handed over at Abbeville, at the time of her marriage to Louis XII, it seems extremely likely that not all Mary's plate was given to her brother at the time of her second marriage. With this inventory is a list of the Duke's creditors and debtors. The endorsements are in the Duke's own hand, and they are here quoted literally as specimens of contemporary spelling:

A remeberawnes of hall scheth dettes I, Charles

* Ancaster MSS. His. Report.

Duke of Suffoulk did how to me knollage, bysedes myn dettes unto the kynges grace.

The Duke's creditors include the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire,* Sir John Allen, and George Heneage; while among his debtors are Sir Anthony and Sir Humphrey Wingfield, Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Berners, and the Duke's son-in-law, Lord Mounteagle. At the end of the list is written :

Payment to sertayn credetores as apyres be a boke mad betwyene hold Francis Hall and me and to dywares for the Monthyegles dettes, £2,415. 13. 4. The holl som that I, Charles, Duke of Suffoulk may dyspend de clarrow by extemasseum, £2,500, wyth me pynsseun† howth of France."‡

The Duchess of Suffolk's jointure was only drawn up by Act of Parliament in June 1537, but the Parliamentary Roll of February 1536 § records the drawing up of Lady Eleanor Clifford's jointure, consequently the marriage of the Duke of Suffolk's youngest daughter must have taken place in the course of 1535. In honour of Lady Eleanor's marriage to his son, the Earl of Cumberland added a wing sixty yards in length to Skipton Castle, in Cumberland; this wing, which still stands, was built in five months.

Another entry in the Parliamentary Roll for February records an agreement between the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Christopher Willoughby. Sir Christopher continued to bring charges against his sister-in-law, and there still seems to have been much ill-feeling even after the agreement of the Parliamentary Roll. A certain Thomas Warley complained that as he was speaking about his

* Sir Thomas Boleyn, Anne's father, was made Earl of Wiltshire.

† This was a pension of 870 crowns that Louise of Savoy, the Queen Dowager of France, bestowed upon Suffolk and other Privy Councillors at the Treaty of the More in 1524, in order to gain adherents for her son, King Francis, who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia.

‡ Ancaster MSS. His. Report.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 243.

“matter” to the King, the Duke of Suffolk came in with a pair of greyhounds as a gift for His Majesty, and that Sir Christopher, who was present, instantly began to abuse the Duke with such vehemence that he, Warley, was set aside.*

On March 15, 1535,† the Duchess of Suffolk gave birth to a second son, who was named Charles after his father.

This same year, the following paper was drawn up by Cromwell :

Things done by His Highness sythen I came to his service.

He purchased Hampton Court, the More, St. James's in the Fields, and all the ground whereof the new park of Westminster is now made, all the old tenements in Westminster, where now is builded the new garden, the tennis plays and cockfight. He has purchased woods beside Portsmouth in Hants sufficient for the new making of the Harry Grace a Dew, and the Grete Galye. A thousand new bows bought, and made within the Tower. He has new builded Hampton Court, the Palace of Westminster, and walled the park with a sumptuous wall, and St. James's in the Fields, a magnificent and goodly house, and he has purchased the Manors of Donnington, Ewelme and Hognorton and others of the Duke of Suffolk.” ‡

The negotiations over the sale of Hognorton and Ewelme gave rise to some acrimony. Rich wrote to Cromwell that although the Duke of Suffolk said that he had spent £1000 on Ewelme, and £1500 on Hognorton, both houses were in a very bad state of repair, and that the Duke could not have spent so much on them as he had reported. This complaint of houses being out of repair

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 635.

† This date is given on the Bartalozzi engraving of the Holbein miniature. But now the two Holbein miniatures at Windsor Castle are said to be both of the elder Brandon brother who was educated for a time with Edward VI.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 1231.

seems to have been a very common one in those days. With his enforced attendances at Court, Suffolk could have had very little time in which to visit his many houses, and as all the amenities of life were then reserved for the rich, it is scarcely surprising if, during the master's absence, everything went to rack and ruin. One of the principal considerations was the sport that a place could provide, and it was expressly stipulated when the Duke gave up Hognorton that eighty deer should be left there. Deer were conveyed from one part to another, and there is a warrant to Sir Francis Bryan, dated December 1538 :

for taking one hundred and twenty quick deer of antlere within his Highness's chace of Alice Holt, and conveying of them to his park of Asshere (Esher) towards the replenishing of the same after the rate of three and fourpence the piece.

In 1536 began the dissolution of the monasteries. The smaller ones were broken up first, and Chapuys writes :

The King and the Council are busy selling offices for the provision and exaction of the revenues of the churches which are to be suppressed. The silver plate, chalices, reliquaries, the church ornaments, bells, lead from the roofs, cattle and furniture, belonging to them, which will come to the King, will be of an inestimable amount. All the lords are intent on having farms of the goods of the said churches and already the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk are largely provided with them.*

But while they were thus busily competing for the spoils of the Church, another matter was also engaging the attention of the two dukes. With Stokesley, Bishop of London, they had been commissioned to consider a charge of adultery against Anne Boleyn, and, as a result of their deliberations, Sir William Brerton, Sir Henry

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 601.

Norris, Sir Francis Weston, Mark Smeaton, a musician in Anne's service, and her brother, Lord Rochford, were all committed to the Tower, while Anne herself was cited to appear before the Council at Greenwich, on May 2. The same afternoon the Queen also was sent to the Tower, being escorted thither by the whole Privy Council. Parliament was not sitting, so a Steward's Court was constituted, and on May 16 the trial opened in the banqueting-hall of the Tower. The Court was composed of most of the existing peers, the two dukes, Norfolk and Suffolk; the Marquis of Exeter; nine of the thirteen Earls (Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland—to whom Anne was said to have been engaged—Westmorland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex and Huntingdon) and fifteen barons (Lords Audley, De la Warr, Montagu, Morley, Dacre, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Mounteagle, Clinton, Sandys, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordaunt).^{*} Sir Christopher Hale had the nominal conduct of the prosecution, but the real prosecuting counsel was Thomas Cromwell, who was now the most powerful man in the kingdom, though the only legal post that he had ever held had been that of a money-lending attorney. According to Wriothlesley's Chronicle, the youngest peer present was called upon to give the verdict. He declared Anne guilty, whereupon each of the other peers in turn, according to his degree, gave the same verdict. It devolved upon the Duke of Norfolk, in his role of High Steward, to pass sentence on his niece. She was to be brought to the Green in the Tower, and there burned or beheaded, according to the King's pleasure. Three days before the Queen's trial Rochford, Brerton, Norris, Weston and Smeaton were condemned to death in Westminster Hall; they were executed on Tower Hill. Smeaton was hanged, being of inferior birth, but the other four were beheaded, and

^{*} Four earls were not present: the Earls of Shrewsbury, Essex, Cumberland, and Anne's father the Earl of Wiltshire.

twelve days after their execution Anne was led out to meet her fate. A large concourse had assembled on the Green within the Tower ; a space for the Mayor, Aldermen, the Deputies of Guilds and other privileged spectators, was kept by Yeomen of the Guard. By the King's express wish, Audley, the Lord Chancellor, and the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond were stationed on the scaffold. When the Tower clock started to strike twelve, Anne, anticipating that the weapon of destruction would be brought up the steps of the scaffold, turned her eyes in that direction, and that same instant the St. Omer headsman reached for his sword from under the hay where it had lain hidden. With the stroke of twelve came the boom of a gun. This was the signal to the city of London that for the first time in history a Queen of England had been beheaded.

The day after Anne's execution Henry married Jane Seymour. He had been brutally callous about Anne, but it was his fate to experience a real sorrow soon after her death. The Duke of Richmond, his illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount, died in June at St. James's Palace. The King was very much attached to him, and as his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, had now been declared illegitimate, the Duke had come to be regarded as a possible successor. The Duke actually died of what was termed a wasting sickness ; it was probably a form of consumption—a disease which later was to carry off Edward VI—but in his insensate rage against Anne, Henry declared that her sorceries had killed his son. The end must have come suddenly, for only a few days before his death, the King attended a triple marriage in Shoreditch, at the former nunnery of Hollywell, which was now the property of the Earl of Rutland.

The three Lordes, Lord Bulbeke,* Lord Neville,† and

* John de Vere, afterwards sixteenth Earl of Oxford.

† Henry, son of Ralph Nevill, Baron Nevill of Raby and Earl of Westmorland.

Lord Roos* were all married at one Mass, going to church all three together, and the ladyes, their wives, following one after another, every one of the young ladyes having two young lordes going one everye syde of them, when they went to church, and a young ladye bearinge up everye (one) of their gowne traynes; at which maryage was present all the greate estates of the realme, both lordes and ladyes; the Lord Chaunseler of England, and the Duke of Norfolk leading the Lord Bulbekes wyffe home from the church, the Duke of Suffolke and the Lord Marques of Dorset leading the Lord Nevelles wyffe, and the Erle of Derbye and the Erle of Surrey leading the Lord Rooses wyffe; and after Masse, there was a greate dynner and divers greate dishes and delicate meates with soteltes and diverse manner of instrumentes playing at the same, which were too longe to expresse; and after dinner, the Kinges Grace came thither in a maske, ridinge from York Place, with eleven more with him, wearing garmentes after the Turkes fashion, richlye embroidered with gold, with Turkes hattes of blake velvett and whyte feethers on their heades, and vysars on their faces, and four others were arrayed in purple sarcenett, like Turkes, which were as their pages, and so they daunsed with the ladyes a good while; and then the King put off his vyser and shewed himselfe; and then the King had a greate bankett of 40 dysches, wherein was diverse sotteltes and meates, which was a goodly sight to behold. The bankett ended, the King, with his compaye departed thence and rode agayne to Yorke Place in their maskinge garmentes as they came thither.†

* Henry, son of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland.

† *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, p. 51.

CHAPTER VII

Outbreak of the Lincolnshire Rebellion—Commissioners' want of tact over the dissolution of religious houses—Action of the clergy—Predicament of the gentry—Murder of the Bishop's chancellor and sack of the palace at Lincoln—Letter to the King—The King's proclamation—Deputation sent to the King to make terms—Letter from Chapuys' nephew—The King's plans for raising an army—Suffolk appointed his lieutenant—Letters from Norfolk, Suffolk, Richard Cromwell, and Sir John Russell.

DURING the autumn of 1536 a rising took place known as the Lincolnshire Rebellion. The Clerical Commissioners, who were now breaking up the smaller monasteries in the country, had been discharging their duties with a great want of tact, and matters came to a head at Louth. On the Sunday after Michaelmas, as a silver alms-dish was being sent round in church, "a tall serving-man," said to be a servant of Cromwell's, was heard to say that the dish "was meeter for the King than for them." This observation so enraged a member of the congregation that "he fashioned to draw his dagger," crying out that "Louth and Louthesk would make his master such a breakfast as he had never had before." * Later in the day, when it became known that all the clergy had been summoned to appear on the morrow before Heneage and the Bishop's chancellor, named Wolsey, the indignation became intense. At the conclusion of vespers a procession was formed, a silver cross was borne in front, and Thomas Foster, "a yeoman and singing man," cried out: "Masters, step forth, and let us follow the Cross. God knoweth whether ever we shall follow it hereafter." †

* Victoria, *History of Lincolnshire*.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 828.

The church jewels were then given into the keeping of Nicholas Melton, subsequently known as Captain Cobbler, and all night long watch was kept in the porch by armed men. Next morning the common bell was rung, and Heneage was seized on his arrival. However, on his promising to lay the matter before the King, the people were appeased, and, according to the evidence of Captain Cobbler, the disturbance would then have ended had it not been for the action of the clergy. At their instigation the books of the Bishop's chancellor were seized; and, after the King's writings had been separated from the others, "all the commons meanwhile taking off their hats, and bidding God save the King," the rest of the books were burnt in the market-place. By this time the insurrection had spread. Church bells were rung, and bands of men, headed by the clergy, and in many instances by the local gentry, began to gather. The predicament in which the latter now found themselves placed is thus described by one of them:

I and other gentlemen of Holland* have been compelled to appear before the commons assembled at Boston to the number of 2000, who compelled us to swear to be true to God, the King, the commons and the commonwealth, and said it was the Sheriff's command that the goods of all that had not come in, should be seized to maintain his army. Further, they have commanded myself, Mr. Holland and all the other justices of the peace, to raise the towns about and lead them to meet the Sheriff and his great army on Sunday, by 2 p.m., on Ancaster Heath, where the Sheriff will be. There are over 40,000 harnessed and naked men, clad in bands of leather, and they say they will die in God's quarrel and the King's. We dare not withstand their rebellious commandment, and the Sheriff and other gentlemen are brought in by like compulsion. And though I and Mr. Holland and other gentlemen, have shown the most honourable persons of the town the danger of this rebellion, and advised them

* A division of Lincolnshire.

not to assist it, they say they would do as their neighbours did.*

On October 3 Sir Robert Dymock,† his son Edward, and his son Arthur, who was Sheriff, were fetched from Scrivelsby Court more or less under compulsion. On their arrival measures were taken to organize the host. The men who had arms were divided up according to their respective wapentakes, and five of the gentlemen who had come in—Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Sir William Askew, Sir Edward Madeson, Sir Thomas Messydyn and a lawyer, named Thomas Moigne—were required on pain of death to write the following letter to the King :

We by your command, for levying your second payment of your subsidy, were assembled at Caster (Ancaster) in Lincolnshire. There were at our coming within a mile of the town 20,000 of your true and faithful subjects assembled because the report went that all goods and jewels of the churches were to be taken away to your Grace's Council, and the people put to new charges. They swore us to be true to your Grace, and to take their part, and then conveyed us from Castor to Louth, twelve miles distant, where we remain till we know further of your gracious pleasure. We desire a general pardon, or else we be in such danger that we be never like to see your Grace, nor our own houses, as the bearer [Sir Edward Madeson] can show, for whom we beg credence. Your said subjects have desired us to write that they be at your command for the defence of your person or your realm.

signed Robert Tyrwhit, William Askew, Edward Madeson, Thomas Portington.‡

Articles were also drawn up by the leaders demanding the restitution of the religious houses, the remission of the subsidy and the degradation of Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Longland. According to

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 717.

† Hereditary Champion of England.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 534.

Moigne, these articles were afterwards "somewhat reformed as they were wondrous unreasonable and foolish." *

The whole countryside was now in a ferment. Wolsey, the Bishop's chancellor, who had been too ill to accompany Heneage to Louth, was seized, and he and his servants were both murdered. Men or provisions, usually both, were provided by the Abbeys of Bardney, Kirkestead, Revesby and Barlings, and, advancing on Lincoln, the host sacked the Bishop's Palace. But at this juncture, the arrival of the King's reply to their letter gave a severe check to the enthusiasm which up till now had animated the insurgents :

We cannot but marvel that you, our sworn servants, warned of the unlawful assembly of our servants, should put yourselves in their hands, instead of assembling for the surety of your own persons and their suppression. Secondly, we take it as a great unkindness that our common and inferior subjects rise against us without any ground.

Firstly, taking away all goods of parish churches, it was never intended, yet if it had been, true subjects would not have treated with Us, their Prince, in such violent sort, but would have humbly sued for their purpose.

As touching any enhancement, or other charge, we never desired more than is granted to us by Act of Parliament, by the whole Body of the Realm ; and the most part of the first payment, and some part of the second, in most shires, is lovingly granted, and partly paid already. Nevertheless, we marvel at the unkindness of our subjects that would move any insurrection against us for such a cause, considering that the tenth of those assembled, is not within the limit, or burden of the same, and that is worth ten pounds, and it is a bad subject to rebel against us for ten shillings. The rumours of the other impositions are untrue, and this assembly is so heinous that unless you can persuade

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 971.

them for the safety of your lives, to disperse, and send a hundred of their ringleaders, with halters about their necks to our Lieutenant, to do with them as shall be thought best, and thus prevent the fury of the great puissance, which we have already sent against them, we see no way to save them.

We have also appointed another great army to invade their countries so soon as they come out of them, and to burn, spoil and destroy their goods, wives and children, with all extremity, to the example of all lewd subjects.*

A fear now seized the people that they might be caught between two converging armies, and other causes of discontent began to make themselves felt also. Food was scarce and relations between the gentry and the commons were strained. Finally, it was decided that the best way to extricate themselves from the predicament was to send a deputation to the King's Lieutenant with their submission; and no sooner had the deputation set out than the rest of the host dispersed.

Insignificant as the Lincolnshire Rebellion now appears, the country had been so peaceful for over forty years that this rising created extraordinary alarm. There seem to have been signs of coming trouble. According to the Duke of Norfolk, men from Lincolnshire had announced in the eastern counties in the early autumn that men coming to Lincolnshire at Michaelmas should have honest living for dyking and fowling, and he declared that men who had worked for him during the harvest had gone there. Norfolk was credited with French sympathies, and consequently was disliked by Chapuys, who, after insinuating that the Duke had been banished from Court at the instigation of Cromwell, writes to the Emperor that :

He, the Duke, is quite pleased at the Rebellion as he thinks it will be the ruin of Cromwell, to whom the blame for everything is attached, and whose head the rebels

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 569.

demand. However merry the Duke may appear, the King is all the more dejected, and as Cromwell's nephew said to-day in secret to an honest man, the King is in great fear.*

The next letter, written by Chapuys' nephew, denotes the satisfaction with which the writer and his uncle regarded the Lincolnshire Rebellion. The letter is addressed to the Queen of Hungary, who was now the Governor of the Netherlands.

To instruct your Majesty, that on the first of October, in the Bishopric of Lincoln, there rose against the King's officers and commissioners, who were to proceed to the pitiful demolition of about four hundred Abbeys, certain peasants, under the leadership of a shoemaker. They first took and hanged the cook of Dr. Lee [the Archbishop of York], the chief of the said deputies—a man much hated by the whole country for his arrogance ever since he dared cite before the Archbishop of Canterbury your late Aunt, the Queen of England. He, at the beginning of the tumult escaped, and because the servant of the Lord Privy Seal reproved them for the execution of the said cook, they took the said servant, wrapped him in the hide of a cow newly killed, and caused him to be attacked and eaten by dogs, threatening to do the like to his master. They then went to the Bishop of Lincoln's lodging, and failing to find him there, they put to death his chancellor. The Bishop is regarded by the people as one of the principal councillors, who raised scruples in the King, to repudiate your Aunt. On the Tuesday after, more than ten thousand people met together, well armed, who, that day and afterwards, took, and are still taking the gentlemen of the country, making them swear to be loyal to God, the King and the commonwealth. Some of the gentlemen, who had been sworn to their party, withdrew to the King, and informed him on Wednesday, about nine a.m. ; on which he summoned the gentlemen then in London, to go thither under the command of Richard Cromwell, and ordered the Lord Mayor of London to supply them with horses, who did his duty

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 576.

well going from stable to stable and taking them alike from merchants, strangers and those of the country. At this there was great murmuring, to appease which it was reported that they were in order to meet Nassau, who, they pretended, was coming to England with a great company of men but unprovided with horses. On Thursday, a knight came to Dover to select one hundred and twenty of the workmen labouring on the harbour which the King is erecting there.* Those of Sandwich sent sixty. If the King acts thus the frontiers [coasts] will be more easy to conquer. They compel the French tailors in London to go thither, and furnish them with arquebuses, giving them two groats a day for every five miles they go for drink money. They also compel the Flemish shoemakers to go at the same wage. To the English they only give sixpence and the same drink money.

On Sunday, after dinner, I saw thirty-four little falconets of those made by the King last year, taken out of the Tower, but I saw nothing done about bullets and powder, nor about the Master of Artillery. Next day, when they were leaving town, it was pity to see the horses yoked in such a fashion. From want of good horses there returned from one mile beyond the town, thirteen of the said pieces to the place before the Tower, and the rest did not go far.

At the conclusion of the letter, the writer suggests that the time for revenge has come.

To restore the patient Princess [Mary] to her rightful estate would require but part of the army, which was prepared in Zealand, and it should land in the river which goes to York. The insurgents number over fifty thousand. There are ten thousand priests, monks and religious persons of whom the most learned continually admonish the people to continue the work begun.†

There are in existence letters showing the means by which the King raised the army to quell the Lincolnshire

* "There be many tall men in the King's works at Dover, if you would direct your letters to my brother Whalley for them." (Sir Christopher Morrell to Cromwell, *Cal. S. P.* Vol. XI, No. 646.)

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 714.

Rebellion. These letters are dated October 7 from Windsor Castle. They announce the King's intention of advancing in person or sending some great personage against the rebels in Lincolnshire. They are stamped but not addressed. Blanks are left to be filled in, the recipient being required to furnish "—— men and horses fit for war, of whom —— were to be archers, and lead them or send them to —— by the —— day of this month."

Memoranda. To write letters to all the parts and the sea coasts, to search what ships come along the coast. My Lord of Norfolk to be sent to Ampthill to exercise the Office of High Marshal, and to set the army, which shall then be arrived in order that the King, on his arrival thither on Monday morning, may view them, and dismiss them from time to time with thanks and good entertainment.

Things to be sent with diligence for the suppression of the King's rebels, money and a Treasurer, six guns, eight or ten feet long, powder, gunners, bows, etc. To know whether the King will allow coats for gentlemen's servants. To set posts. A commission under the Great Seal for the discharge of my Lord and the gentlemen.

A list follows of those who are to supply men to fight the northern rebels. According to this document the Duke of Suffolk was to raise 500 men, and Sir Christopher Willoughby, who now owned Parham, was to raise 100 men in Suffolk.*

No efforts were spared to obtain men. Even the carpenters and masons employed on Cromwell's new house at the Austin Friars were not exempted. But every effort was made to encourage the woollen trade, in consequence, no doubt, of the disturbances that had arisen ten years previously in the cloth districts at the time of the Amicable Loan. If business grew slack it was feared that the clothmakers would discharge their men, who would then go off and join the rebels. Pressure

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 579.

was therefore brought to bear on the rich cloth merchants to compel them to buy cloth; according to Norfolk, the trouble would have spread to the eastern counties had this course not been taken.

The King's original intention of taking the field in person was not carried out, and on October 11, he writes to Gardiner and Wallop:

Certain of my subjects, with a number of boys and beggars, have assembled in the County of Lincoln. To repress the rising, as the Duke of Suffolk has married the daughter of Lord Willoughby, and is become a great inheritor in those parts, I have sent him thither as my Lieutenant, and I have joined with him the Earls of Shrewbury, and Rutland, and Huntingdon, the Lord Admiral, Lord Talbot, Lord Burgh, Lord Clinton, Sir John Russell, Sir Francis Bryan, Richard Cromwell, and all those who have lands or rules thereabouts. I doubt not, that they will soon chastise the rebels. The army is sure to be of not less than forty thousand men.*

The fact that the Duke of Suffolk should be actively employed while he was idle, was evidently a sore point with the Duke of Norfolk, for he writes:

The King's letters have been the most uncomfortable that ever came to my hands, commanding me to send my son with as many horses as I can furnish, and to stay at home myself. If I send away my horses I can do no service in repressing the people here, nor come to the King when commanded. I do not wish to sit still like a man of law while other noblemen come to the King, or go towards his enemies.

I have not got above seventy horses for my great horses and geldings are at Sheffield. I think I have much wrong offered me to send my son and servants from me, considering that they cannot overtake my Lord of Suffolk, who will be to-morrow night at Huntingdon.†

In another letter, he gives the news that he has heard in Suffolk:

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 656.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 603.

This morning Lord Wentworth had news from the Wash that the traitors had taken Lord Hussey. Other news is that Lord Hussey and Lord Clinton have escaped, and that a great part of Kesteven and Holland have risen. I think it unwise to give battle too hastily. My Lord of Suffolk is too weak without reinforcements, to meddle with them.

The Duke concludes this letter by saying that he can raise two thousand men, and that he is ready to serve under Suffolk. "If only the King would send the Earl of Oxford to make sure of his town of Lavenham * the rest of that part of the country would be safe." †

The Duke of Suffolk had in the meanwhile arrived at Huntingdon, and he wrote to the King from there :

I have reached Huntingdon, leaving my company to follow, and I intended, with the men I found there, to proceed to Stamford for the slaying of the traitors, according to your Grace's command. I found at Huntingdon neither ordinance, nor artillery, nor men enough to do anything, such men as have gathered, have neither harness, nor weapons. I beg that artillery, ordinance and a thousand or two of harness may be sent with speed, also a sufficient number of horsemen (as well out of the west as the north parts). Ordinance and horsemen must do the feat, and considering that the traitors are well horsed and well armed and so numerous, the success of a battle would be doubtful. I have sent your Majesty's letter to Sir Robert Tyrwhit and others among the rebels, and I beg to know what I am to do if they submit. If they do not, I will refuse to make any more suit to your Majesty for them, unless they stay themselves, without approaching any nearer to your Majesty's army. Thus I intend to gain time to put your Majesty's people in readiness, and have the ordinance. I beg that money may be sent without which the men are not willing to set forth. Many captains are unable to relieve their

* Lavenham in Suffolk was the centre of the cloth trade, and then bore much the same relative importance to England as Manchester does to-day.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. X, No. 625.

companies, though I do what I can to help them. In my late letter, considering my sudden departure from the south, I desired that my cousins Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Anthony Hopton, and Sir Francis Lovell might levy my servants and tenants in the south. I now hear that Your Majesty has commanded them to remain there, so I lack a great part of my servants.*

At the same time that the Duke addressed this letter to the King, he wrote as follows to the gentlemen who were with the rebels :

Forasmuch as Sir Edward Madeson was, at the mediation of the inhabitants of Louth, sent with your letter to the King, considering he was amongst you, and a suitor for you, the King was in such high displeasure, that Sir Edward was in great danger of his life. The King, out of pity for the great slaughter which is prepared for you, if you continue in your detestable purpose, has sent you his gracious letters, which if you are minded to follow, I would know by the bearer. If you refuse, and march further towards the King's army, I shall put the King's orders of persecution in execution.†

All sorts of alarmist rumours were current. Fitzwilliam writes to Cromwell that Sir William Hussey's ‡ servant had reported in the wine cellar, in the hearing of the bearer of Fitzwilliam's letter, that as he and his master were on their way to Nottingham, to join the Earl of Shrewsbury, "they heard all the people, young and old, praying God speed the rebellious people of Lincolnshire and saying that 'if they came their way, they should lack nothing that they could help them to.' " And the day after Richard Cromwell § reached Huntingdon, he wrote from there to his uncle :

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 615.

† *Ibid.*, No. 616.

‡ Son of John, Lord Hussey, who was executed at the conclusion of the Rebellion.

§ Cromwell's nephew, Richard Williams, who took his uncle's name. In 1538 he was granted the suppressed Benedictine nunnery of Hinchinbroke. The Cromwells had Hinchinbroke until 1627 when Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle of the Protector, sold it to Sir Sidney Montagu.

This night, my Lord of Suffolk's grace received a letter from my Lady, his wife, showing that there is great bruit that his Grace has lost a field and twenty thousand men, and that the King will have all such cattle as be not marked. This is supposed to have been put in the heads of the people by the clergy.*

The Duchess probably wrote this letter from Westhorpe, as the Duke was in Suffolk when the rebellion broke out. Later on, when the Duke was living in the Close at Lincoln, the Duchess seems to have joined her husband.

Sir John Russell and Sir William Parr had been sent on in advance of the Duke's main army to Stamford, and from this place they reported to the King as follows :

We have viewed the walls of this town and have enquired of the most discreet and substantial persons into the state of the commons' hearts, who would, if we tarried longer, have joined the traitors ; indeed there have this day left Bourne, under one of your servants, one hundred persons, whom we have sent a company to apprehend, or else to take such goods as are left. The walls here are very weak, but if we had ordinance, they could be defended whatever assault was made. The bridge inhabitants will not willingly permit the bridge to be broken up ; however we shall do as cause shall require. Two miles above the bridge are fords, where some policy shall be practised to hinder and annoy the offenders. Ordinance is what most fear, and will put offenders in fear and dread.†

Even at this time the possession of a train of artillery was of enormous advantage, and the inhabitants of Stamford may well have had memories of the Battle of Loose Coats, fought three miles from Stamford, some sixty years previously, during the Wars of the Roses. Edward IV's train of artillery had then soon broken the ranks of Sir Robert Welles's Lincolnshire levies, and the battle took its name from the many coats that the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 650.

† *Ibid.*, No. 621.

fugitives shed in their haste to escape from the field. The possession of artillery by the insurgents at Lincoln in the present rebellion was one of the reasons why so much anxiety was felt.

Richard Cromwell went on with the Duke to Stamford, and he writes from there :

We found Sir John Russell, Sir William Parr and Sir Francis Bryan here, and about eight p.m. arrived my Lord Admiral [Fitzwilliam], who like my Lord's grace, showed me great attention. We hear the traitors about Lincoln, are so dismayed at the assembly of these noblemen that they know not what to do. The township of Boston is fled home again within these two days, to the number of ten to twelve thousand men, and I suppose the rest will flee shortly. The great traitor, Sir John Thimbleby, dwelling at Bourne [Irnham], seven miles from Stamford, knowing of Mr. Russell's and Mr. Parr's approach, assembled all his tenants, and under cover of doing the King a service, and threatening to burn their houses if they refused to go with him, then joined the rebels, Monday last. One of Sir John's sons has just come in, who says that five or six thousand men have fled home again. We lament nothing so much as that they have thus fled as we hoped to have used them as they deserved. My Lord Admiral is so earnest in the matter that I dare swear he would eat them with salt. I never saw one in triumph like unto him. My Lord's grace has commanded young Thimbleby to ward, and if his father come not in to-morrow, he will spoil all he has, and cut him in pieces. My Lord's grace has written to the King that their purpose is to spoil both Louth and Horncastle. These two towns, I dare boldly say, are better stored of arrant traitors than any towns in England. I would that the whole shire should be sucked up. I beg your lordship to comfort my poor wife in my absence.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 658.

CHAPTER VIII

Difficulty of obtaining money to pay the King's army—Suffolk's letter announcing the arrival of the deputation of Lincolnshire gentlemen—Spread of the rebellion to Yorkshire—Lord Darcy's letter—Suffolk's report of his operations—Letters from the King with instructions—Suffolk at Lincoln—John William's letter—Evidence of the prisoners—Lord Hussey.

ONE of the problems during the Lincolnshire Rebellion was how to pay the armies that the King was now so rapidly mustering.

Gostwick, the Treasurer, writes on October 11 :

I found my Lord Lieutenant at Stamford. My Lord has taken order for the payment of the soldiers by bills, signed with his own hand, a good discharge for me. To-night, by his direction, I ride to Nottingham to my Lord Steward [Shrewsbury] with £4000, for it is thought that he has a greater expense than my Lord Lieutenant, but I have not seen the muster book of either. The King must be of good heart, for we trust, within a few days, to give his enemies a foul fall. Please send money speedily and as much silver as possible.*

And Norfolk writes from Ampthill :

But for the fifteen hundred pounds of my own that I had at starting, there would have been ill work. The pension of France hath done no hurt to me nor to the King's affairs.†

Another problem was the pay that the men were to receive. Norfolk writes that the men who had brought horses were asking for costs ; that they declared that

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 680.

† See note p. 47.

eightpence was not enough to find both man and horse, now that horses were on hard meat. Some of the captains have already paid their men tenpence. In summer when horses went to grass men used to have eightpence, and those who have departed home shall only have that sum.*

As the King was finding the greatest difficulty in procuring the necessary money, he says in his answer to Norfolk :

You must have special regard to our charges, which will grow excessive unless care be taken not to exceed our rates of wages, and that there be a difference used in the wages of those who serve us on horseback and those, who for their own ease, will come on horseback, and afterwards serve us on foot.†

The directions that Wriothesley had sent Cromwell, telling him "to make shift to the uttermost, and to coin money from the jewel house," ‡ evidently did not meet with the King's approval, for in a second letter, dispatched the same day, Cromwell is commanded not to meddle with the plate until Wriothesley's arrival.§ And writing to Cromwell a few days later, another expedient is mentioned by Wriothesley :

Since writing I have had access to the King, who thanked you for the trouble, but wished to know particulars, & after I had taken my leave, he called me again, & told me that he wished you would taste the fat priests thereabouts, viz. Drs. Wolman, Bell, Knight & others about Paul's & elsewhere. The King said that Dr. Chamber had, of his own account, presented twenty marks & Dr. Lupton one hundred pounds.||

In the meantime the deputation of Lincolnshire gentlemen had arrived to make their submission, and Suffolk writes to the King from Stamford :

Messengers between Madeson & the gentlemen of

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 754.

† *Ibid.*, No. 768. § *Ibid.*, No. 769.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 766.

|| *Ibid.*, No. 834.

Lincolnshire have arrived, and show that the gentlemen in the enclosed bills, are come this night to Sir John Thimbleby's* house, ten miles from this town. They wish to know whether to come in harness or not, & that I will be a mean unto your Highness for them. I have referred them to their own discretion, & will keep them in surety till your pleasure becomes known, begging at your Grace's pleasure, I may be a petitioner for them.

The following are the names in the bill :

Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Sir William Askew, Sir William Skipwith, Sir Andrew Billesby, Sir William Sandon, Sir John Copledike, Sir Christopher Askew, Knts. ; Edward Forsit, Thomas Moigne, Squires ; Michael Girlington, Richard Thimbleby, Gents. ; Thomas Portington, Squire ; John Booth, Gent. ; and Mr. Elton of Louth.†

In a note the Duke adds that the Sheriff and the two Dymocks have just arrived.

The Duke's next letter to the King is written from Grimsthorpe, which is only a few miles from Irnham. Although it was ultimately to become the property of his wife, Grimsthorpe still belonged at this time to the widow of the thirteenth Earl of Oxford.

Yesterday, we received your letters at six, by Sir Francis Bryan, and we shall see that your directions are followed. To-day, we removed from Stamford hither, & tomorrow, we trust to join my Lord Steward, & next day after, to be at Lincoln. As we wrote yesterday, Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Sir William Askew & others in the bill, intended to be with us. They are come, & rejoice to have escaped from the rebels. They beg our intercession for your gracious favour, & advise due punishment of the traitors, offering to die against the rebels. The Sheriff [Arthur Dymock], who arrived yesterday, presented to us one of the most arrant of the traitors. We have committed him to ward at Stamford, where he shall remain for divers causes two or three days, & then be executed. He has forty pounds, or fifty pounds of goods

* Irnham, built in 1510. In 1887 most of the north wing was burnt, but the great hall remains.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI. No. 670.

which, with your pleasure, we shall give to Sir William Pickering.

Signed, Duke of Suffolk, Sir William Fitzwilliam.
Sir John Russell & Sir Francis Bryan. fr. Grimsthorpe Hall.*

Though the rebellion in Lincolnshire had now completely collapsed, a serious situation was rapidly developing in Yorkshire. After serving with the Lincolnshire rebels, Robert Aske went back to Yorkshire, and assuming the command of the insurgents there, laid siege to Pomfret Castle. Dr. Lee, Archbishop of York, was in the Castle, which was held by a small garrison under the command of Lord Darcy.

A letter describing their desperate plight was sent by Lord Darcy to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Nottingham, and this letter the Earl sent on by the same bearer, a servant of Sir John Constable's, to the Duke of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe, the messenger being accompanied by Lord Talbot, afterwards gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots, and Sir Marmaduke Constable.

From the Lords in Pomfret Castle.

It is true that the commons for the most part of Yorkshire be up & to-day we hear that there meet before York above twenty thousand men, besides many who have come to them from Lincolnshire. There is no doubt that the commons of the shire & Lincolnshire receive messages from each other. They increase in every parish. The Cross goes before them. I, Darcy, have twice written to the King of the weakness of this castle, but have got no answer, & without speedy succour, we are in extreme danger.

Signed, E. Ebor, T. Darcy.

This letter was forwarded to the King by the Duke of Suffolk, who added the following postscript to his original letter :

We have received the letter enclosed. The bringer

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 728.

was yesterday at Pomfret. He says that the commons are up in the North & he saw in Pomfret Castle, Lord Darcy, the Bishop of York & two hundred men, & in the town a thousand men. Sir Bryan Hastings was driven to Thurne Pile & there was a rising in Tyndale & Redesdale.*

From the next letter it appears that the Duke and his colleagues had been reproached for being dilatory.

We trust that our coming to Stamford with such speed was no hindrance to the "sparpling" of the rebels. Since our arrival, we have done all that we could for your Grace. Whatever reports your Grace may have heard, the truth is that I, your Lord Lieutenant, & I, your Lord Admiral with Richard Cromwell, arrived at Stamford on Tuesday week. We found Sir John Russell & Sir William Parr with only nine hundred men & no ordinance, or money. If the number of men had been as great as was reported, we should not have stayed at Stamford as long as we did. While we were there, the retinue of me, your Lord Lieutenant, & the retinue of others came in, so that by Monday, at noon, there were five thousand men of whom three thousand were horsed & harnessed & the rest had neither horses nor harness, nor weapons. Hearing that the rebels began to sparple, either for fear of my Lord Steward at Nottingham, or for fear of us, as the artillery arrived on Friday, we thought it well to discharge those who had no arms, because the rebels hearing of it, would think we considered ourselves strong enough to beat them, & because, if those without weapons had been supplied, there would have been but few for the Lord Steward, & because they wanted harness, & if it came to a fight, three thousand well equipped men would be sufficient. We intended to march forward on Saturday & desired the Lord Steward to do the same, who answered that he could not leave till he had money, & that he could not march untill he heard the King's pleasure concerning the [proclamation]† sent to the King by Lancaster Herald. We waited therefore till Sunday,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 729.

† The Earl of Shrewsbury had sent Lancaster Herald with a proclamation to the rebels.

& then set forward & desired the Lord Steward to do the same. It is thirty miles from Stamford to Lincoln. I, your Lieutenant, marched ten miles that night with the ordinance. At the place where I lodged [Grims-thorpe], Lord Talbot & Sir Marmaduke Constable came from the Lord Steward, desiring me, on his behalf in such, . . .*

The rest of this letter is mutilated, but the missing part must have explained the reason why the junction between Suffolk's army and that of the Lord Steward was never effected.

Apparently this letter satisfied the King, for no further reproaches are made, and Henry merely sends instructions :

When you shall, by one move or other, have Lincoln you shall remain in the Close with an eye to the country round so that no man can stir again, but he be straight had by the head & hung. You shall secretly view the Cathedral & Close with a view, in memory of the insurrection, to establish a garrison there, & so to keep them in mind that their forefathers were traitors & for the keeping under of posterity.†

If it appear to you by due proof that the rebels since their retirement from Lincoln, have attempted any new rebellion, you shall with your forces, run upon them with all extremity, & burn & kill man, woman & child, to the terrible example of all others & specially the town of Louth because the rebellion took a beginning in the same. We have sent you this day a good sum of money, & we will send you more as you require.‡

Touching your going to Lincoln, I approve your purpose & require you to proceed as signified in our last letters. Though the gentlemen of Lincolnshire pretend this fidelity towards us, you shall try out, by examining the leaders of the multitude, how they really used themselves, which you shall not do well if you be over hasty in the execution of the meaner sort as shall best know the same.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 808.

† *Ibid.*, No. 717.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 780.

Meanwhile, you may execute as many of the common traitors in Lincoln, Louth & Horncastle as shall seem requisite for a terrible example to like offenders.*

The arrival of the King's army at Lincoln is thus described by Richard Cromwell :

Last night, my Lord Admiral, Mr. Russell & I, with our companies, arrived at Lincoln, where we found as obstinate persons as ever I saw, who would scarcely move their bonnets to any Lord, & probably would have withstood us, if we had not stolen upon them. To-day, Mr. Bryan's company arrived with my Lord Grace [Suffolk].†

John Williams was selected by the Duke and his colleagues to collect the evidence of the prisoners, which was taken down and forwarded to the King. Informing the King of this appointment, they write :

And though, because all men be not punished as they have demerited for lack of time, yet "Null um tempus occurat Regi," & God being your Grace's friend, as we doubt not that he is, & will be, the traitors of this rebellion shall be in such wise punished in time as shall be to the fearful example to all others.‡

John Williams writes to Cromwell as follows :

I write more to show my duty than to declare news, for since my coming to Stamford with Sir John Russell, matters were doubtful, & I knew your Lordship was informed of them by the Council. Since the coming of my Lord of Suffolk, the Lord Admiral & others, I am bound to report their pains in matters concerning the rebellion. The Duke & the Lord Admiral, ceremonies laid aside, have won the hearts of all ; as for Sir John Russell & Sir Francis Bryan, God never died for a better couple. Mr. Richard uses himself like your lordship's kinsman. All desire nothing so much as to fight with the rebels. I will describe the gentlemen of Lincolnshire. In no country have I seen such a sight of asses, so unlike

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 764.

† *Ibid.*, No. 756.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 830.

gentlemen as the most part be. Knights & Squires, meeter to be Baileys. Men void of fashion & in truth of wit, except in matter of trade, which is to get goods only. I have been called to keep the register of accusations, so I have had some practice with these gentlemen. So far they have been sued very gently by the commissioners. A straighter examination, if they have known more of this rebellion than they pretend, their dull wits will not hide it.*

From the evidence that was collected it is clear that much feeling had been aroused in Lincolnshire by the suppression of the monasteries and the report that the churches were to be robbed of their plate. The Abbot of Barlings said that he had been told that "the jewels of the churches were to be taken away, and replaced by chalices of tin." Another prisoner, James Johnson of Slaynton, described three men he had seen in the town, "two in grey frieze coats, and the third in a plain riding coat, and the lesser had said that one of the churches in the churchyard should not stand there."

It was related of another prisoner, Philip Trotter, that he had taken down Sir Lion Dymock's armour, which hung over his tomb in Horncastle Church, and had dressed himself up in it. Trotter had also taken Sir Lion Dymock's standard, and this had been carried in front of the host. Afterwards this standard had been exchanged for a new banner made of white linen and painted with the following subjects :

the Five Wounds of Christ, which was to encourage the people to fight in Christ's cause ; a Chalice with the Host, in remembrance that they [the Church jewels] were to be taken away ; a plough for the encouraging of the husbandmen ; and a horn, in token of Horncastle.

But other insurgents seem to have been actuated by less worthy motives. Thomas Smythe, mercer, and Robert Bauding, "sometime cook to the Lord Willoughby

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 888.

who died nine years past," are described as being the leaders in the town of Spilsby. Smyth, with a party, had met the rector of Willoughby, Sir Francis Stonor, who was also Lady Willoughby's surveyor, and had it not been for the intervention of some of the gentlemen, Smyth would have killed Stonor.

Later on, Bauding and Smyth had set Thomas Whatley in the stocks for "being backward," they had forced the Bailey of Spilsby and Peter Pigott to deliver up to them the harness that was kept at Eresby Place, and they had sent for six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence of the church money. Robert Colman of Spilsby, who was also one of the "spoilers of Eresby Place," had taken the Chancellor's purse when he was killed, and had also taken a purse from a man at the cross-way.*

Lord Hussey was one of the persons suspected. When summoned to appear before the Duke at Lincoln, he acknowledged that he had promised the people that if the commissioners had exceeded their powers he would see that they got redress. He said that about a hundred of his own tenants and of the Bishop of Lincoln had come to him at Sleaford Castle, and had told him that "they would live and die with him." He had bidden them "walk home," adding that he trusted to see them "hanged shortly." But the men had declared that they would not leave the Castle, and had kept watch there, and when he had heard that Sir Christopher Askew, with a party from the host, was coming to fetch him, he had disguised himself in a priest's gown and cope, and had fled to the Lord Steward at Nottingham. He had intended to remain there, but his wife, "like a fool," had sent for him for the sake of her children, saying "if she brought me not again the rebels would burn my house and destroy them." †

Lady Hussey provided meat and drink for Sir

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 828.

† *Ibid.*, No. 852.

Christopher Askew and his five hundred men, when they came to Sleaford Castle to fetch her husband, but the twenty angels that she offered them were refused. Another witness said that on Sir Christopher's return without Lord Hussey, some one had suggested that "if his lordship were set like a nobleman he would come," and accordingly seven score horses were sent "to go set him, but could not speak with him." Yet another witness gave it as his opinion that "if my Lord Hussey had gathered men for the King as he had done for his own pomp, to ride to assizes or quarter sessions, he might have driven the rebels back." *

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 969.

CHAPTER IX

Norfolk's dissatisfaction—Letter from the Privy Council—Letter from Sir William Paulet—The Pilgrimage of Grace—Suffolk sends herald to Lord Darcy—Perilous escape of Lady Eleanor Clifford—Suffolk to the King—The King to Suffolk—Suffolk's jurisdiction at Lincoln—Dearth of bows and arrows—Letter from Norfolk—Foreign comments—Trial of the ringleaders—Grant of Tattershall Castle to the Duke of Suffolk—Grant of Vaudey Abbey to the Duke and Duchess—History of Vaudey—State of public feeling in Suffolk—The Duke's residence in Lincolnshire—Lord Hussey's execution—Results of the religious changes—Manning to Cromwell—Grant to Manning.

EVIDENTLY the Duke of Norfolk resented that he had not been allowed to take a more active share in the suppression of the rebellion. He writes sarcastically to the Council :

I marvel that Sir Anthony Browne should have so many bows and sheafs of arrows and bills, unless there is some new insurrection in Lincolnshire, and that you would have my Lord Suffolk join my Lord Steward before my coming. I am apt to think that some desire great company more for glory than necessity.*

THE COUNCIL TO NORFOLK. *October 21st, 1536.*

His Highness never intended that my Lord Shrewsbury should join with my Lord of Suffolk before your coming, nor that there is any new rebellion attempted in Lincolnshire, as far as we know. Yet we had reasons for sending my Lord of Suffolk new succours and ordinance because the rebels in Yorkshire had grown to a great multitude, and might allure those hollow-hearted and new reconciled fellows in Lincolnshire to their faction. Moreover, my Lord of Suffolk has, by the King's com-

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 800.

mands, sent to my Lord of Shrewsbury most of the ordinance that he had with him, and has also sent to Sir Ralph Ellerker part of his men and munitions for the defence of Hull.*

Among the reinforcements that were sent to the Duke of Suffolk was a contingent of Gloucestershire men under Sir William Paulet and Sir William Kingston, and on their way these gentlemen wrote to the Council :

This country is barren of men and victuals, and we hear that they are sore straightened in Stamford for victuals as the whole army passes that way. Many of the army, in going forward, take men's horses and mares from the plough without any agreement, or restitution. We have had the justices of the peace with us, and they have agreed to take order with every town and village, so that there shall be as little hurt as may be, whereof the Captains, on their return, may be warned.†

The Yorkshire Rebellion, which is known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, was now becoming far more serious than the one in Lincolnshire. The Duke of Norfolk was sent north, and at the end of October the King wrote to Suffolk :

If Norfolk and Shrewsbury should be hard pressed, you, Fitzwilliam, Sir Francis Bryan and Sir Anthony Browne are to advance as shall be arranged with Norfolk, leaving Sir John Russell and Sir William Parr at Lincoln, with fifteen hundred men. Finally you, our Lord Lieutenant, will remember that as we wrote before, we would reserve you to wait upon us, and if we should advance into those parts, and we require you to satisfy therewithal, and not to depart except in such case as we have appointed.‡

Lord Darcy had been forced to surrender Pomfret Castle, as he had anticipated, and in consequence of the pact that he and the Archbishop had been obliged to

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 817.

† *Ibid.*, No. 844.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 883.

make with the rebels, doubts were entertained as to how far he was to be trusted. In order to sound him, the Duke of Suffolk sent Somerset Herald to him. Lord Darcy was staying at the time at Templehurst (Temple Newsam) on the Aire, and the herald describes the deference that was shown him by Darcy on his arrival. He was conducted, he says, through the hall to a "fair parlour," where Darcy welcomed him with his cap off. When Lancaster Herald was sent to the Yorkshire rebels, Aske had commanded him to kneel, and because he had complied with this request, and had dared to kneel with the King's arms on his back, the unfortunate herald was afterwards hung, drawn, and quartered. In the course of his conversation with Lord Darcy, Somerset Herald referred to the good discipline maintained in the Duke of Suffolk's army. Only one robbery, he said, had been committed, and the perpetrator, a servant of Sir Francis Bryan, had been hung. Lord Darcy replied that he had heard that the Duke "did good justice, and especially on one occasion, in Stamford, when a man had demanded a new King." Had such a thing happened in Yorkshire, Darcy declared that the man would have been hacked in pieces before he could have been rescued. Darcy also spoke of the Earl of Cumberland and Lord Clifford who at this time were very active in the West Riding. Both father and son, he said, were in great danger.* Not long after, in fact, when Skipton Castle was besieged by the rebels, a grim fate very nearly overtook Lady Eleanor Clifford, the Duke of Suffolk's daughter, who was staying at Bolton Castle at the time with two of her sisters-in-law. When it was discovered by the rebels that Skipton was impregnable, they determined to take the three ladies and their gentlewomen, and either lead them before the host at the assault of the Castle, or condemn them to an even worse fate. Fortunately, however, the plot was discovered by the Vicar of Skipton and Christopher

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 1086.

Aske,* who by a stratagem succeeded in bringing all the ladies safely into Skipton Castle. The rebels were very indignant when they found that their plan had been frustrated, and they were so angry with the vicar that for some months he was obliged to remain in hiding.†

On the twentieth of November, the Duke of Suffolk writes to the King :

The apprehension of Sir Robert Constable and Aske is a very doubtful matter. I never intended to practise it but upon a great likelihood, that it shall never come to their knowledge, till it be done, lest it procure them to do more mischief. For the saying is, that Darcy, Constable and Aske are those who have the most credit among the rebels. I pray God, that Darcy may do your Highness such service as stands with his duty and promise. I wrote lately that Anthony Curtis and Hornclif were taken as principal beginners of the Rebellion in this shire. Curtis is kinsman to Aske and for malice that Aske had accused him, he offers to go and kill Aske.‡

A few days later the King sent Suffolk the following instructions :

As Sir Robert Constable is now at York you are to practise with the merchants and inhabitants of Hull, and get them to promise, for their pardon, to deliver the town to you as the King's Lieutenant, in case you should enterprise it. You are to enquire of the gentlemen of Lincolnshire separately, how many men they would supply for a gratuity fund to the King for a month, at their own cost, and make a book of the same with an opinion as to whether they are to be trusted.§

The Duke appears to have exercised the powers with which he had been invested in Lincolnshire with great tact and restraint. A paper entitled " the Government

* Brother of Robert Aske, the leader of the Yorkshire insurgents.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 1236.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 1120.

§ *Ibid.*, No. 1176.

of the North," which must have been drawn up about this time, states :

As the insurrection in the North is now appeased, means should be devised for perfect quiet in future. 1st, His Grace's pleasure would be known, touching the appointment of a Lieutenant to remain in the North, until the King advance thither. As the maintenance of the Faith was one of the grounds of the Rebellion, the most virtuous and learned men of the kingdom should teach and preach in all parts there. Item, the King should allure the nobles and gentry of these parts to obedience by his affability, assuring them that he had passed their crimes wholly to oblivion. And by this means, His Grace shall, little by little, find out the root of this matter.*

And when Cromwell gave orders that only the very poor men among the dispossessed monks were to have their debts paid and pensions allowed them, the Duke at once indignantly expostulated.

SUFFOLK to CROMWELL. *November 27th, 1536.*

John Heneage has shown me your letter ordering him to pay no debts, or pensions but to very poor men. I think this inopportune for, Thank God, this shire is now in good stay. I beg therefore that nothing may be attempted which may make people think of their late folly. If I were able, I would myself pay all the charges of the suppressed houses in Lincolnshire rather than it should be put in their heads that they should not be paid. Commissions have been given to men, who have not discreetly used their power, which has been a great cause of this business. I have therefore desired John Heneage in no wise to disclose the restraint of payment till I hear from you.†

Suffolk's pleas for clemency were successful. After thanking him for his zeal, the King writes that he agrees to granting a new pardon on the strength of Suffolk's letters.‡

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 826.

† *Ibid.*, No. 1180.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 1224.

All this time the supply of equipment for the army was proving most inadequate. When writing for bows and arrows, Norfolk says, "this were better than gold or silver, for for money I cannot get bows and arrows." Formerly, bows had been procured from Italy, and in 1472 a law had been passed by which Venetian galleys were compelled to bring four bow staves for every ton of merchandise that they brought to England. But now that the Venetian trade had dwindled, Germany was the chief source of supply.

Leonard Stockhayer and Christopher Furrer, citizens of Nuremberg, writing to King Henry on the fourth of June 1533, say :

We hope this summer to be able to procure for your Majesty the twenty thousand bows for which you wrote by Hermann Wolpor. We have engaged trusty men to cut the wood in the mountains and forests of Austria.*

In November 1536 the Duke of Suffolk was begging for more arrows, string, and powder. He complains that the bows of the ordinance break in the bending, and the arrows, that the army have, are all marred with riding and watching in the rain.†

In the month of December the Duke of Norfolk has a new grievance. He complains that when Sir Arthur Hopton's servants were bringing servants to Suffolk, they took four horses belonging to a servant of his, named Rowse,‡ which were in his (the Duke's) grounds at Sibton. Lady Hopton had taken these horses with her when she had gone to Lincolnshire to join her husband, and when they were brought back, two had been retained to work in Sir Arthur's plough, and were not recovered until a messenger was sent to Lady Hopton. "I see that men think I will not return or they would not act thus," is the Duke's acid comment.§

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 593.

† *Ibid.*, No. 1239.

‡ Treasurer of the Duke's household.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 1239.

The Duchess of Suffolk may have accompanied Lady Hopton to Lincolnshire. She was certainly there in December, for the Duke writes that month to the King :

In accordance with the commands that your Highness has sent me by Sir Francis Bryan, I am waiting upon your Grace at Christmas. I am leaving my wife in these parts.*

When the Duke left Lincoln the Duchess may have gone to stay with her mother at Eresby.

The next two extracts are foreign comments on the situation.

THE BISHOP OF FAENZA to MONSIEUR AMBOGIO. *November 3rd.*

It appears that the affairs of the King of England are not going very well. It is even said that he is more than half besieged in a castle, but the issue will soon be known.†

ALEXANDER ALESIIUS ‡ to CROMWELL.

I deem that the suppression of the monasteries, those slaughter houses of the conscience, has not been the cause of the rebellion. The real cause was no new doctrine, but the papistical doctrine, which taught the Lincolnshire rustics to take up arms against the King in defence of priestly and monkish insanities.§

The ringleaders in the rebellion were brought to the Tower, and in March 1537 they were tried in the Guildhall by a special commission composed of Audley, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Ralph Warren, the Lord Mayor of London, the Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Lord Cromwell, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir John Baldewyn, Sir William Paulet,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 1267.

† *Ibid.*, No. 976.

‡ Alexander Alesius (1500-1565), a Lutheran divine, born at Edinburgh. Fled to Germany. He was introduced to the Bishops by Cromwell in 1537 as the King's scholar, a title given to young scholars patronized by the King with a view to employing them as orators, or otherwise in his service. When Gardiner went to Germany, Alesius is mentioned with Martin Bucer as discussing with Gardiner the fundamental principles on which all religious controversies should be conducted, but at the Conference at Worms, Cardinal Granville, knowing Alesius's readiness for the fray, would not allow him to speak.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 987.

Sir Richard Lyster, Sir William Kingston, Sir John Russell, sen., and Sir Roger Chomeley, Recorder of London.* The remainder of the prisoners were tried at Lincoln, where Sir William Parr acted as Head of the commission, and thirty-four were condemned to death there. Thomas Moigne, the lawyer, who was one of them, pleaded so eloquently that, had not Serjeant Hinde and the King's solicitor, according to Parr, "acquitted themselves like true servants of the King and profound, learned men, Moigne had troubled and in a manner evict all the rest." † Twenty-one priests in all were executed, some at Tyburn and some in Lincolnshire, and their bodies were gibbeted in various towns and villages of Lincolnshire. Amongst those who suffered were the abbots of Barlings and Kirkestead, four monks of Barlings, six monks of Bardney, and three monks of Kirkestead. The last three had been transferred to Kirkestead at the dissolution of Vaudey Abbey in 1533, and they were the only monks of this Abbey who had remained true to their vows.

In recognition of the Duke of Suffolk's services during the Lincolnshire Rebellion, the following grants were made to him in April 1537.

Grant in tail male of the Castle, Lordship and Manor of Tattershall, Linc., with all leases, including a ferry on the water of Witham at Tattershall, the premises having come to the King by the death without issue of his body, of Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, to whom they were granted by the authority of Parliament, 21 and 22 Henry VIII.

To the said Charles and Dame Katherine, his wife of the reversions and rents reserved upon the following Crown leases and grants, viz. :

To John Harrington, 21 March, 28 Henry VIII of the house and site of the suppressed Abbey of Vaudey, Linc., with certain meadows for 21 years, £2,591. Includ-

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 934.

† *Ibid.*, No. 590, p. 1.

ing 26½ acres of arable land (be the same more or less), 195 pasture, 197 acres of les Bastard leys, 51 acres of meadow and 1 close called "le lytyll close."

To Charles Duke of Suffolk and Dame Katherine, his wife, Vaudey, Edenham and Scotelthorpe.*

Vaudey, a corruption of Vallis Dei, the Valley of God, was about a mile from Grimsthorpe; the abbey was founded in 1147 by William, Earl of Albemarle, a grandson of Odo, Bishop of Bayonne, the Conqueror's half-brother. The Earl's father complained so bitterly of the barrenness of his lands in Yorkshire that he was granted the lordship of Castle Bytham, where the Earl intended to found an abbey; but as the monks whom he brought from Fountains did not like the site, another one was found on the property of Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln. Evidently there had been some difficulty in obtaining the site, as an appeal was made to both the Pope and St. Bernard. Vaudey was a Cistercian monastery with thirteen monks; being one of the smaller houses, it was dissolved in 1533.

In the spring of 1537 the Duke and Duchess went to Suffolk, where the state of public feeling was giving rise to some anxiety. A certain Richard, styled the Bishop of Bungay, had been accused by Wharton, the Duke of Norfolk's controller, of having used words against the King, and he was brought up before the Duke of Suffolk. The Bishop is described by the Duke as being "a wretched person, for nothing, by fair means, nor by foul, can I make him confess." He had persisted that he had never said that "if he had three hundred good fellows they would so have had enough to subdue the gentlemen." The Duke speaks of a prophesy, and promises to send Cromwell a copy of it and to try and learn in what company it was read. Before the Reformation, Guild processions were held at Bungay on Corpus Christi, and these may have served as a vent for popular feeling. Also, the Duke

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 1103, p. 1.



Tattershall Castle

states that Wharton had told him of a May Game, played last May, "which was a play about a King, and how he should rule his realm, and that the man, who had played Husbandry in the play, had said many things against gentlemen, and much more than was in the book of the play." The Duke says that he has ordered the justices of the shire to have regard to "light persons, especially at games and plays." * Evidently much stricter supervision was exercised in consequence of these orders, for in a confession made by the Bishop, which the Duke sent on to Cromwell, the Bishop relates a conversation that he had with a man in a wood. He had complained of its being "a hard world for poor men, and that they were being used as was never seen before this; for if two or three good fellows be walking together, the constables come to them, and will know what communications they have, or else they shall be stocked." †

The Duke must also have gone to Suffolk to attend to private affairs as well as public business. Writing at the end of May from Hoxun Court, a manor belonging to the Bishop of Norwich, the Duke says that at his departure from Court the King gave him six weeks in which to dispatch his business; this business seems to have been making arrangements for severing his connection with Suffolk. He was delayed, as he explains to the King, by the illness of his wife and son; the Duchess had ague, and his son smallpox. ‡ By June, however, he and the Duchess were back in Lincolnshire, and they now took up their residence at Grimsthorpe, which must just have come into Lady Willoughby's possession through the death of the Countess of Oxford.

The following letter is addressed to the Duke at Grimsthorpe :

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 1212, p. 1.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 1284.

THE KING to SUFFOLK. *June 28th, 1537.*

Constable, who held Hull in the late Rebellion, is to hang in chains there. And Aske, the grand worker of that insurrection, is to be hanged at York, where he was in his greatest and most frantic glory. Considering that you are now in Lincolnshire, where you have served me so well, and that Hull joins on Lincolnshire, I have sent the prisoners by Sir William Parr, to convey to Lincoln, or wherever you think fit. After you have had them in custody one night, you shall send them by water, with Sir William Parr to the Duke of Norfolk at Hull. Furthermore we send unto you by the same person, the late Lord Hussey,* whom you shall cause to be notably beheaded at our city of Lincoln, at such time, soon after his arrival, as you shall appoint, taking order that you, with a suitable number of gentlemen, shall be at his execution, which we desire may be done notably with a declaration that of our clemency, we have pardoned all the rest of his judgment.†

It seems improbable that the Privy Councillors of Henry VIII can have derived much pleasure from witnessing an execution (though public executions have always been a popular entertainment, and attracted large crowds until they were discontinued so late as within living memory), for the possibility that their own turn might come next must so often have occurred to them. Even ties of relationship do not seem to have been considered. Lord Hussey, for instance, whose execution was to be supervised by the Duke of Suffolk, was a brother-in-law of the Duchess's father. However, the Duchess and her descendants were to profit by Lord Hussey's death, for although it is not clear how the transaction came about, Bytham Great Park, once the property of Lord Hussey,‡ now forms part of the red

* Lord Hussey was degraded and afterwards executed at Sleaford. The barony became extinct.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 734.

‡ Parva Bitham, Folkingham Park, Morton, Repingale, Hollywell, Bytham Park, Little Bytham, and Stratton, etc., "which Lord Hussey had in exchange of the King for a lordship in Essex, and the true value of them I cannot know as yet." *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 187.

deer park at Grimsthorpe. Just before his execution, Lord Hussey made the following appeal to the King :

I beseech your Grace to be good unto a daughter of mine, which was called Dorothy Hussey, which was handfastened and betrothed to one, Thomas Wymbush by their own accord and agreements, before sufficient record, which Thomas Wymbush was ward unto your Grace, and I brought him of your Highness, beseeching your Grace that the same marriage may take effect for the discharge of their consciences.*

The next two letters show the innovations caused by the changed outlook in religion.

SIR WILLIAM TYRELL to SUFFOLK.

The Vicar of Mendlesham, my neighbour, has at Pentecost last, brought home his woman and two children to his vicarage, openly declaring that he is married to her. This act, in this country is a monster, and many grudge at it, but as he declares that the King knows he is married, they refrain from doing what they would, and our ordinary do nothing. I beg to know how to reform his open crime, which is a bad example to other carnal, evil disposed priests.†

CHRISTOPHER LANTT, Parson of Stratford, to MR. MERBERE, Controller to the Duke of Norfolk.

At my benefice of Stratford, which I have of my Lord Grace's gifts, they have of late done an act, which they avow should be by my Lord Privy Seal's commandment, to take down certain pictures in the church, which as the country much speak of, thinking it to be their own sinistral deed, please inform my Lord's Grace that he may know my Lord Privy Seal's mind. Let short remedies be had, or else they are likely to spoil the whole church, and my Lord has not such another in his gift.‡

All the monasteries were now being dissolved, and

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 2.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1, No. 236.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. 476.

Thomas Manning, Suffragan of Ipswich and Prior of Butley, writes to Cromwell in December 1537 :

I have sent divers times to Mr. Argall for the King's confirmation of my poor house, which he declines to deliver without a command from your lordship. Divers of my Lord Suffolk's council were with me last week, at Butley, and were the more busier with me because they said I could not get my confirmation. I replied that with the King's favour I would never resign it.*

The customary gift accompanied this letter—the gift in this case consisting of “2 fat swans, 3 pheasant cocks, 3 pheasant hens, and 1 dozen partridges”—and the Prior apologizes to Cromwell that no wild fowl could be sent “owing to the weather being so rainy and open.” And the gifts in this instance seem to have been effective. Although Manning did not succeed in obtaining the confirmation of his house or any direct pension, he was made Warden of Mettingham College † by the Duke of Suffolk, who was the patron of the college in right of his wife. Manning also received a grant of monastery lands in Warwickshire and Lincolnshire, with a reversion to the Duke of Suffolk, so probably the transaction was in the nature of a mutual arrangement.

Indenture 20th March, 29 Henry VIII, by which the Duke of Suffolk agrees to make before Trinity Sunday next, a lease to the Bishop of Ipswich for life, of 200 marks lands in Lincolnshire, or Suffolk, the rent to be paid in St. Paul's Cathedral. Bonds entered into before Sir Ralph Warren, Mayor of the Staple of Westminster, and Sir Roger Chomeley, Receiver of London.‡

In the Middle Ages, the altar alone was regarded as sacred in cathedrals and churches, and St. Paul's Cathedral was a recognized place for transacting business.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, p. 2, No. 1317.

† The College of Ravensingham was founded in 1350, and in 1394 the College was finally removed to Mettingham. Robert, 6th Lord Willoughby, and the Duchess's father were both buried there.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 553, p. 1.

CHAPTER X

The Lisle correspondence—The Misses Bassett—Lady Powis and Lady Mounteagle—Suffolk to the King—Prevailing sickness—Birth of Edward VI—John Husee's letters—Death of Jane Seymour—The King's projected marriage with the Duchess of Milan—Spoliation of the churches—Introduction of Church registers—Plague—Letter from John Husee—Lady Wallop to Lady Lisle—False reports about the King taking unmarked cattle—Norfolk's letters on the subject—A shoemaker's union at Wisbeach.

THE Lisle correspondence, from which the following quotations are made, gives many interesting details of the domestic life of these times. Sir Arthur Plantagenet, an illegitimate son of Edward IV, married as his first wife Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Edward, first Viscount Lisle, and widow of Henry VII's notorious minister, Dudley. By Dudley, Elizabeth Grey had one son, Sir John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland and father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey. Mention has already been made of young Lady Lisle, who was at one time betrothed to the Duke of Suffolk, and who subsequently married the Earl of Devon, but had no children ; on her early death Lady Plantagenet, her aunt, and Sir Arthur Plantagenet were granted livery of the Lisle lands, and Sir Arthur assumed the title of Viscount Lisle. On the death of his first wife, Lord Lisle married Honor Greville, widow of Sir John Bassett ; it is this Lady Lisle and her daughters, Katherine and Anne Bassett, who figure so largely in the Lisle correspondence. Her husband was now Deputy of Calais, and John Husee, to whom most of Lady Lisle's letters are addressed, must have been their confidential agent in England.

JOHN HUSEE to LADY LISLE. *March 8th, 1537.*

I trust that the suit for Mrs. Katherine is now in good stay for Mr. Coffyn has moved it to the Duchess of Suffolk, who has made him a grant thereof. There is now one dead in my Lord of Suffolk's house, so that neither he, nor my lady will come to Court for a time ; but you & my Lord had better write to the Duchess, saying you understand that she has accepted your daughter's service.*

The same to the same. *May 12th, 1537.*

You will receive by the bearer a token and a letter from my Lady Rutland.† She is content to take Mrs. Anne [Bassett] at the end of the progress when all heats and dangers of sickness are passed. As for Mrs. Katherine, the Duchess of Suffolk is not here now, but at her coming Mr. Coffyn will again be in hand with her, and he has no doubt she will keep promise with him. My Lady of Rutland at her coming will use efforts with Lady Beauchamp,‡ and others, that one of your daughters be preferred for the Queen's service at the next vacancy. The Queen is said to be with child.§

The same to the same. *June 29th, 1537.*

I made half a motion to Hastings for his wife's dog, but he said he durst not do it, as it is all her comfort, yet he said, he thought verily you should have it if his wife be so minded. As to the gentlewoman with Lady Raynesford, I hope you will not need her for I have been in hand with my Lady Rutland divers times for a gentlewoman for you, and at last she had promised me one of her own gentlewomen. She is a wondrous good lady.||

The same to the same. *July 17th, 1537.*

The Queen thanks you for the quails. Those hereafter should be fat, or they are not worth thanks. We

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 180, p. 1.

† Eleanor, daughter of Sir Wm. Paston and wife of Sir Thomas Manners, 13th Baron Roos, created Earl of Rutland in 1526.

‡ Afterwards Countess of Hertford and Duchess of Somerset, wife of the Protector Somerset.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 1188, p. 1.

|| *Ibid.*, No. 167.

have now cherries and peas. I delivered your token to the Lord Privy Seal [Cromwell], who says he longs not a little to hear that your ladyship has a boy. . . . On Thursday last the Queen at dinner, while eating the quails, spoke of your ladyship and your daughters. The matter is thus arranged that you should send them both over that her Grace may see them herself, and take which she pleases. They must be sent over about six weeks hence. You need not spend much on them till you know which her Grace will have. They will only require two honest changes, the one of satin, the other of damask. At their coming, one will be put in my Lady Rutland's chamber, the other in my Lady Sussex's, and when it is known which the Queen will have, the other will be put with the Duchess of Suffolk. The Queen, however, will give her nothing but wages and livery. And forasmuch as they will now go upon making or marring, it shall please your ladyship to exhort them to be sober, sad, wise and discreet, and lowly above all things and to be obedient and to be governed and ruled by my Lady Rutland and my Lady Sussex and Mrs. Margery and such others as are your Ladyship's friends here, and to serve God, for that is much regarded. I trust your ladyship will not take this my meaning that I should presume to learn your ladyship what is to be done, neither that I do see any likelihood of ill appearance in them, but I do it only of pure and sincere zeal that I bear for your ladyship's sake to the end and that they should so use themselves. And as your ladyship knows, the Court is full of pride, envy, indignation and mockery. I can hear nothing of the cups for conserve. Those my Lady Fitzwilliam had, were brought out of the Levant. The Queen goeth with a placard not laced. God make you the mother of a jolly boy.*

The precepts which John Husee recommends the Misses Bassett to observe when they come to Court seem to have been admirably carried out by the young Duchess of Suffolk. But while she appears to have been a model of discretion, the same cannot be said of Suffolk's two eldest daughters, who were a continual source of trouble

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 271, p. 2.

to their father. Referring to these two daughters in his account of the Duke of Suffolk, the *Spanish Chronicle* says:

The Duke had two daughters, but he would never recognize them, and as they grew up and became handsome young women, and were without help from their father, they took to evil courses, and became common women, the father, however, taking no notice.*

But though this estimate of the characters of Lady Powis and Lady Mounteagle was probably correct the *Chronicle* is incorrect in saying that their father never took any notice of them. Directly after her marriage to the Duke, Mary Tudor expressed a wish to have his daughters to live with them, and Anne, the elder daughter, was sent for from the Court of the Netherlands where, presumably out of love for Suffolk, the Archduchess Margaret had been bringing her up. And as we have seen, the Duke was continually providing money for the Mounteagles. About the time that he was arranging for Lord Hussey's execution, he wrote to Cromwell as follows about Lady Powis:

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

On my most hearty wise, I commend me unto you, and albeit I do well remember, as I am beholden, how much ye have done, and daily do for me, and mine. And especially for the good will ye owe me unto my daughter Powis, for whom I most heartily thank you. Yet I cannot desist more and more to call upon you, to continue the same, to my said daughter, who, endeavouring herself not only to do, and follow your advice and council, but also, professing herself as I trust she will, to live after such an honest sort as shall be to your honour and mine, shall have me, as reason is, good lord and father unto her, and if she so do not, she shall want my good will during my life, as God knoweth, who [*sic*] have my very good Lord in his keeping.

At Grymsthorpe, the last day of June,
your assured,

CHAR. SUFFOLK.†

* Chapter on the Duke of Suffolk, *Spanish Chron.*, translated by Martin Hume.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 171.

Cromwell was also approached by Lord Mounteagle on the subject of his wife. The following letter is dated two years later :

I beg your Lordship to be a good lord to me, touching the abuses of my wife. Some great men hold more to her part than to mine, to which, for some time, I have been blinded. I fear my sufferance has made the King and your Lordship, despise me, I trust I may never fail in the King's service, considering his kindness to me, and to my father.

from Hornby Castle.*

Lady Mounteagle is the subject of one of the Holbein drawings in the King's Collection at Windsor ; she appears to have been very handsome.

In July 1537 the Duke of Suffolk writes to the King from Eresby, which he is pleased to style " my poor house of Eresby," although it was still the property of his mother-in-law.

Please it your Highness to be advertised that I have received your most honourable letters to me directed concerning the putting in execution of the Commission of Sewers and the Statute of Vagabonds, in your Grace's County of Lincoln, in the which, there shall be such diligence used, as God willing, I trust your Highness will be pleased. I assure your Highness that I cannot perceive, since my coming into these parts, by none of the whole county, but that they be as sorry for their offences, committed against your Highness in times past as any man can be, and as glad and diligent to do all things now that in them is possible, to recover your Highness's favour.†

This letter was sent to the King when he was on his progress. There had been much sickness this year, and when making arrangements for the progress Sir Francis Bryan writes :

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol., XIII, No. 486, p. 1. Hornby Castle had been the property of Lord Darcy.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, No. 364, p. 2.

I cannot see what way the King can come to Grafton. I hear they die at Reading, and I am sure they do at Thane, and also within a mile of Mr. Williams's house at Buckingham. The King might have come from East-hampton, then to Euston, my Lady Bray's, for neither my Lord, nor my Lady, are at home. Then to Whaddon, then to Grafton. These houses should be sufficient for the King as the Queen is not coming, and thanked be God, all clear air as yet.*

As regulations for the King's household had had to be drawn up forbidding the "purloining in the King's house, and places of noblemen and gentlemen, where he may lodge, of doors, locks, tables, forms, cupboards, trestles, etc., which has frequently been done to the King's great dishonour," one feels sorry for the owner when, as in Lord Bray's case, he was not at home during the King's visit to keep an eye upon his possessions.

On the twelfth of October Jane Seymour gave birth to the long wished-for heir, and the Duke of Suffolk came from Tattershall to attend the christening. The babe (afterwards Edward VI) was baptized in the chapel at Hampton Court when he was a week old. The Duke's gifts were "2 great flagons and 2 great pots of silver and gilt." John Husee refers to the ceremony in the following letter :

The Prince was christened on Sunday last. The Duke of Norfolk and the Archbishop of Canterbury were godfathers at the font and the Duke of Suffolk godfather at the confirmation. Corbet can inform you of the ceremonies of the christening as he stood by, and saw them. Mrs. Hutton has prepared two frontlets, which cost twenty-three shillings a piece for Mrs. Anne and Mrs. Katherine. On Sunday last, Lady Sussex sent to me with all speed to make Mrs. Anne a new gown, either of lion tawny velvet, or of black velvet, turned up with yellow satin, which I have done with much work. By Tonge's help, the gown was made up, and Mrs. Anne wore it at the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 275.

christening. Yet she must have, against the Queen's churching, a new gown, and against Christmas, a new gown of tawny velvet. I think the ladies liked the partridge pie, though its fashion was marred by the ship which brought it lying almost a tide under water in the Thames.*

fr. St. Katherine's.

The arrival of the partridge pie seems to have been considered nearly as great an event as the christening, for Husee refers to it again a few days later :

Your hawk was very well accepted, but Mr. Bryan would not leave her after he had once sight of her, and the partridge pasty, though it came not best conditioned, was thankfully taken.

And he goes on to say :

Lady Rutland and Lady Sussex say you cannot bestow Mrs. Katherine better than with my Lady Suffolk, for the Duchess is both virtuous, wise and discreet.†

Mrs. Anne Bassett had evidently been chosen to be one of the Queen's ladies, but owing to Jane Seymour's untimely death the dresses which Husee said must be got for her were never required. Most of the people who took a prominent part in Edward VI's christening were destined to die on the scaffold ; Dorset, Exeter, Surrey, Montagu, Hertford, Sir John Dudley, and Sir Nicholas Carew were all executed, while Cranmer was burnt at the stake. But the first victim to be claimed by death was the baby's mother. Jane Seymour had been carried to the Chapel on a pallet bed. She caught cold in the draughty passages, became seriously ill, and died seven days after the christening. On her death, the King, we are told, retired to a solitary place, but he seems soon to have consoled himself, for at the end of March Chapuys writes :

The King has been masking and visiting the Duchess of Suffolk. The painter has returned with the Duchess

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 923.

† *Ibid.*, No. 958.

of Milan's portrait* which has pleased the King very much and put him in a better humour.†

The picture referred to is Holbein's portrait of Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan, now in the National Gallery; it formerly belonged to the Duke of Norfolk. Holbein received £16 for going on the "King's business," also a licence to buy and export 600 tons of beer.

A fortnight later Chapuys says :

I and Don Diego dined with Cromwell on the twenty-seventh, and met the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, Suffolk, the Admiral, and two Bishops. A conference was held after dinner, of which it was decided to send a report to the King. The terms were agreed upon for the King's marriage with the Duchess of Milan and Princess Mary's marriage with Don Ferdinand.‡

On the second of May John Forrest, a member of the recently-dissolved house of the Observant Friars at Greenwich, was burnt at Smithfield, with all the revolting procedure usual on these occasions. Three scaffolds were erected within a railed enclosure; the prisoner stood on one, Latimer preached a sermon from another, and on a third sat the Privy Council. A wooden image known as Darvell or David Gatherer, which had long been an object of worship in North Wales, was burnt on the same occasion, thus fulfilling an ancient prophecy which had foretold that this image would one day set a whole forest on fire.§

The destruction of the monasteries had now set on foot a campaign of spoliation all over the country. Relics were destroyed, and roods and images were ruthlessly torn down. In one instance, a man describes being given the gold from a reliquary to make an inlay for his knife, and much that was of priceless value met with an

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1, No. 1115.

† *Ibid.*, No. 583.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 756.

§ *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

even more ignoble fate. When one thinks of all the beautiful work that was wrecked, one feels that Gardiner was fully justified in describing iconoclasts as "worse than hogs." His alarm at this destruction is evident :

The destruction of images contained an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it ; and especially the nobility, who by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all men, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and actions.*

But as some sort of compensation for all this wanton damage, Parliament this year passed a most valuable piece of legislation. It was laid down that every curate must keep a book or register in which were to be entered every wedding, christening, and burial which took place in his church during the course of the year. And also, through the instrumentality of Cromwell, it was enacted that every parish church was to have the "large Bible in English on a lidger" for the people to read.† This was the edition of Miles Coverdale's ‡ translation of the Bible which was printed the following year. It cost ten shillings, of which half was borne by the curate and half by the parish.

There was another outbreak of plague during the summer, and, writing to King Francis, the French Ambassador says :

As London is of the towns of the world one of the most subject to plague, the King has given me a house in the fields which belonged to the late Mr. More, for the summer. In the same village is lodged my Lord Privy Seal with whom I have frequent communications, for the King is gone to visit his sea ports and havens and to make, as they call it, his progress.§

"They die here in every corner, but no very great

* Strype, *Mem. Eccles.*, II, p. 1.

† *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

‡ Miles Coverdale became an Augustan monk in 1530, and soon after embraced the reformed doctrines.

§ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2, No. 1495.

death," is Husee's method of describing the prevailing sickness. But, as usual, the affairs of the Misses Bassett are his chief concern. Something had occurred to prevent Mrs. Katherine from going to the Duchess of Suffolk, for after informing Lady Lisle that "the old damask gown you have sent me will never be a good tawny, but will take a good black," Husee goes on to say :

I have been asked what you will give with Mrs. Katherine's marriage. I said I thought three hundred marks. But if you can make it five hundred marks, I think she will have an heir, who can spend a thousand marks a year ; to be plain, Sir Edward Baynton's son and heir. But this is under Benedicte. Mrs. Katherine sends you a gold cramp ring. I see she is unwilling to leave Lady Rutland. Being with Lady Hertford,* she would be taken but as her woman, but my Lady Rutland does not so use her.†

The cramp rings Husee speaks of were rings blessed by the King at a particular service. Wriothesley, Garter-King-at-Arms, refers to the "Order of the King on Good Friday touching his coming to service, hallowing of the cramp rings and offering and creeping to the Cross." ‡ Rings that were so blessed were supposed to be a sovereign remedy against the cramp.

Mrs. Anne Bassett had gone to Lady Sussex after Jane Seymour's death, and she is referred to in very complimentary terms in a letter to Lady Lisle written by Lady Wallop. After remarking how much better she would like Hampshire if Lady Lisle were there, "though she hopes to see her at Court, when they have a new Queen, which she, Lady Wallop, trusts may be soon," Lady Wallop goes on to say :

Mrs. Anne is a fair gentlewoman and well made, and behaves herself so well that everybody praises her.

* Sir Edward Seymour, Jane Seymour's brother, had been made Earl of Hertford.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1, No. 1022.

‡ Northumberland MSS., 3rd Report, p. 114.

There is no doubt she will come to some great marriage, Lord and Lady Sussex make not a little of her. Lady Sussex said she would do as much for her as she would for her own sister.*

There was still uneasiness about the state of feeling in the Eastern counties, and reports continued to be circulated that the King was going to take all unmarked cattle. Writing to admonish the Duke of Norfolk on the subject, Cromwell says :

Your Grace knoweth how the spreading of such a bruit in your own country and your Grace's absence from hence might, by some suspicious disposition, be sinisterly glosed and interpreted.†

The Duke indignantly refutes such an imputation. After pointing out that the report was current at Midsummer, when he was at Court, he goes on to say :

I never heard of this bruit till last Sunday, when I asked Sir Roger Townsend and others what they had done, and they said the words were so universal that they could not find the authors. Then and since, I have daily found fault with the gentlemen for not trying out the matter, as soon after, I received a letter from the Duke of Suffolk in Lincolnshire, who had heard the bruits from two men near Walsingham. I have sent the Sheriff to take them, and they should now be at Kenyng-hall. I answered the Duke of Suffolk's letter at six this morning, and being out hunting, I learnt of likelihood who were the beginners of the matter, and incontinently sent the Duke a letter of which I enclose a copy.

NORFOLK to SUFFOLK. *August 8th, 1538.*

This present hour, having slain a buck with my hounds, I heard one of the raisers of the bruit of marking cattle, was of likelihood a gentleman wearing a grey velvet coat with two small gards of green velvet, with a beard more red than yellow and a horn about his neck. With him, in a tawny coat, was one like his servant,

* *Cal. S. P.*, p. 2, Vol. XIII, No. 54.

† *Ibid.*, No. 52.

with a short black beard and a broad square fellow. A mile from Mawdeley Bridge, the gentleman asked for Kervyle, the Town Clerk of Lincoln. He said he was the King's servant, and had commands to take all cattle that were not marked. He then rode over the bridge to Tyrinton and the Wash side, and it is said, into Lincolnshire. This was the week after Midsummer, when you were at London. I will do my best to try this matter out as I am sure you will do in your parts. This morning, I answered your letter by your servant who brought it.

Written upon a mole-hill in Rysing Chase.

8th August, 11 o'clock.*

In October Norfolk reports to Cromwell :

On Saturday, at Norwich, I served the gentlemen upon the Commission of Sewers and so censured their remissness in not trying out the beginning of the rumours of the marking of beasts and in executing statutes and proclamations that henceforth, I think they will be more diligent. Mr. Townsend has already got knowledge of a lewd fellow, who reported treasonable words by a gentleman, named Brampton, a servant of the Duke of Suffolk's. But this fellow was contradicted by his four witnesses, and on Saturday, he shall sit in the pillory with another knave, who has confessed to counterfeiting two letters in Mr. Richard Cromwell's name. Would that the King had three or four such as Mr. Townsend in every shire.†

Another matter that was also causing the Duke of Norfolk much uneasiness was the formation of what we should now call a trade union. He writes to Cromwell :

Twenty-four journey men shoemakers, assembled at Wisbeach on Friday was seven nights, and one Balam, Captain Cobler's brother, late put to execution, was chief of them. Next day, I put eight of them in the Castle. The saying is, they would have made a confederation amongst their craft, how much money they

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 52.

† *Ibid.*, No. 554.

would have for sewing a dozen shoes, I will endeavour to enquire further and proceed to punishment.*

fr. Mr. Durham's house.

The shoemakers were examined, and their confessions were forwarded to Cromwell by the Bishop of Ely.

Confessions of Henry Leverett of Wisbeach, of Alex. Alain, Captain Cobbler's brother and two others.

The confession of Henry Leverett. That he joined in an assembly of twenty-two shoemakers on the twenty-first of July, at Millfield in Wisbeach, in the Isle of Ely, for the purpose of raising their wages, and that none should work unless their masters gave them eighteen-pence for sewing every dozen pairs of shoes instead of fifteen pence before; and that he took a primer out of his bosom, and one Edward, servant to Robert Smyth, administered to him an oath to that effect.

The confession of Thomas Drabbe of Wisbeach, shoemaker, that after the assembly, seventeen of the persons came to his house, he being from home, and sent three of the company to all their masters to come hither and speak with them. On his coming home, Leverett told him their object, and when he bade them go to their other masters, and if they were content he also would agree, Leverett said that this was but scorn. He then said he would give his servants their old wage, and if they would not stay he knew where to find others. Leverett then said, 'And if they so do and depart through the town there shall none come into the town to serve for that wages, within a twelve-month and day but we shall have an arm and leg of him, except they will take an oath as we have done.'†

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 57.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1, No. 1454.

CHAPTER XI

Norfolk's unkindness to his wife—The Duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell—Lady Lisle's visit to Court—Supposed Yorkist plot—Execution of Exeter and his pretended accomplices—Epitaph of Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew—Fears of an invasion—Muster in London—Passing of the Six Articles—A "triumph" on the Thames—Death of Lady Willoughby—Grants to Suffolk of Church lands—Suffolk's surrender of houses and manors—Suffolk to the King—John Husee's commissions—Letter from the Duchess of Suffolk—Francis Hall—The Count Palatine's visit—Lady Lisle to Lord Lisle—Difficult position of Lord Lisle.

WHILE the Duke of Norfolk was thus zealously discharging his public duties, his wife was sending bitter complaints of him to Cromwell. According to the account given of him in 1524 by a contemporary writer, Norfolk was a small, spare man of dark complexion, cruel lips, and more cruel temper. He had been living apart from his wife for some little time. He was infatuated with Bess Holland, a relation of Lord Hussey's, who had been one of Anne Boleyn's ladies. The Duchess of Norfolk had never liked Anne and had been banished from Court for laughing at the coat-of-arms that the heralds drew up for her when she was created Marchioness of Pembroke. As the daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the Duchess was inordinately proud of her birth. For "attainted Staffords talked of Howards as new men," and Anne's only pretensions to birth were through her Howard mother, as the Boleyns had risen from commerce.

THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Now my husband is come home, I pray you to be in hand with him for my better living, as he has all my

jewels and apparel, and he had two thousand marks with me, when he had little himself, and he was always a great player. My Lord, my father, assured me five hundred marks a year, and my husband chose me; for my father had bought my Lord Westmorland for me; and he and I loved together two years, and had not my Lord, my husband, made suit for me, immediately after his first wife's death, I had married my Lord Westmorland before Christmas; and when the Duke came there at Shrovetide, he would have none of my sisters, but only me. I have been his wife twenty-five years, and have borne him five children, and because I would not suffer the bawd (Bess Holland) and the harlots in the house, they "pynaculled me," and sat on my breasts till I spat blood, all for speaking against Bess Holland in the Court. It is four years, come Tuesday in Passion Week, since my Lord, my husband, came riding all night, and locked me in my chamber, and took away my goods and apparel, and left me but fifty pounds a quarter, that is two hundred pounds a year to keep twelve persons in a hard country. Please move the King not to grant my daughter of Richmond's* jointure until he has spoken for mine to my husband, who dare not say him nay. I have had much sickness and cost in physic since the bawd and the drabs bound me. I would be glad to live quietly the rest of my life, for I am forty years of age. I think the King never had a penny for my Lord of Richmond, for Queen Anne got the marriage for my Lord, my husband, and I had heard her say that if my Lord of Richmond died, she, my daughter, should have a thousand pounds jointure.

fr. Redborne.†

Unlike the Norfolks, the Lisles were a very devoted couple, and when they were parted Lady Lisle sent her husband most affectionate letters. She was in London in November 1538 on business connected with her Bassett son, and writing to Lord Lisle from there, she says:

* Lady Mary Howard married Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

MINE OWN SWEETHEART,

Even with my whole heart I have me commended unto you, and so signifying that I arrived here on the ninth of this month, being Saturday. I could not have speech with my Lord Privy Seal [Cromwell] until Monday, and he then willed me to sue unto the King's Grace as well for this suit as for your annuity. So that following his council, I sent unto Sir John Russell, to know what time I might best find to wait upon His Grace so that I was half unquieted that Tuesday, all day ; yet I would not thus leave, but sent again to Mr. Russell, who on the Wednesday, in the morning, sent me word that I should come to the Court, to his chamber, at four o'clock, and then I would find means that I should speak with His Grace. And so I followed his council, and came to the Court [Hampton Court] at the time intimated ; and at my coming I was conveyed to a lodging which was prepared for me, and other lodgings for my Lord and Lady Suffolk, the Earls of Sussex and Hertford and their ladies, which was appointed unknown to me. Whereas I lay all that night, and the other lords and ladies before mentioned, so that we were highly feasted at supper, and after banqueted, and this day dined ; and after dinner, His Grace showed us all the commodities of his palace, so that it was night ere we came from thence. And in the meantime, I moved His Grace, and gave His Grace thanks for the great goodness he has showed unto us and my son. His Grace was very good and willed me to resort again unto my Lord Privy Seal.

From her who is more yours than her own,

HONOR LISLE.*

Another writer also refers to this party at Hampton Court :

The King removed from Westminster on Tuesday, and thank God, was never merrier. The Lords and Ladies lay all night at Court, and had banquets in their chambers, and the King's servants to wait on them, and they did not leave till four after dinner.†

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 833.

† *Ibid.*, No. 884.

Evidently it was unusual for the King to entertain visitors overnight at Hampton Court, and it seems to have been an innovation for the guests to have the King's servants to wait upon them. At the very time that the King is thus described as being so specially merry, he had just ordered the arrest of his first cousin, the Marquis of Exeter.* They had been the closest of friends. According to the Regulations for the Household, the Marquis was the only person, besides the ministers in attendance, who had the privilege of entering the King's Privy Chamber, "being the King's near kinsman, and having been brought up as a child with His Grace in his chamber." The charge against the Marquis was that he was in correspondence with Cardinal Pole, the head of the Yorkist faction, and Lord Montagu, the Cardinal's brother, the Countess of Salisbury,† his mother, and Sir Edward Neville were also arrested on the same charge. The Countess of Salisbury was granted a respite for two years, but the three men were all condemned and executed. A few months later Sir Nicholas Carew, the King's Master of the Horse, was also accused of having been implicated in the same Yorkist plot, and was likewise condemned and executed,

The tomb that formerly marked the grave of Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew in old St. Botolph's Church, Aldgate, is thus described by Weaver :

In this Church, over a vault, is a fair tomb of alabaster, having these lines engraved thereon :

"Here lyeth Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy of the North, and sometime of the Order of the Garter, Sir Nicholas Carew, Knt., sometime of the Order of the Garter, the Lady Elizabeth Carew, daughter of Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir Arthur Darcy, younger son of the

* Henry Courtney, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, married first Lady Lisle and then Gertrude Blount, daughter of Lord Mountjoy and Agnes de Venegas.

† Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and wife of Sir Reginald Pole, son of the last De La Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

above named Lord Darcy, and Lady Mary, his dear wife, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, who had ten sonnes and five daughters. Here lie Chas. Wm. and Philip, Mary and Ursula, sonnes and daughters of the Sir Arthur and Mary his wife, whose souls God take to his infinite mercy."

This Thomas Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew (who was also Master of the King's Horse) were both beheaded on Tower Hill; the first, because he was one (however constrained thereto by the rebels) of the commotion in Yorkshire, anno 1536, the second, for being in council with Henry, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Pole, Lord Montagu, who were found guilty for devising to maintain, promote and advance Reginald Pole, late Dean of Exeter, enemy to the King beyond the sea, and to deprive the King, Anno 1539.*

The supposed Yorkist plot had aroused a good deal of uneasiness, and there was a scare during the spring of 1539 that the country was going to be invaded. Marillac writes :

The English continue to fortify the frontiers in all haste, and take musters everywhere, for which business the Princes, [Norfolk and Suffolk] and other Lords, who have charge for the King, are dispersed in different places.†

Suffolk had gone to Tattershall, and he writes from there to Cromwell :

The people here will spend life, lands and goods to serve the King, if any chance should happen. They will be glad to recover some part of what they have lost, viz., the King's estimation.‡

One of the musters referred to by Marillac took place in London and was the largest that had so far been held there. Fifteen thousand men assembled at Mile End

* Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*, pp. 209-210.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 770.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 749.

and Stepney and set in three "battells," they entered the City by Aldgate. Marching by Cornhill and Cheape to Westminster, they circled round the King's park of St. James's, and then, crossing into the fields by Holborn, they passed into the city again by Newgate, when the muster broke up. The King watched the march from the Gatehouse at Westminster, while the Lord Chancellor, the two Dukes and other members of the Privy Council stood near the Duke of Suffolk's house at Charing Cross.*

Referring to this muster, Marillac says :

No one who can bear arms is to be excepted, even strangers here, engaged in commerce, are compelled to provide themselves with harness, and wear the livery of the city. Five or six ships do nothing but circle round the kingdom, in order to explore, and to correspond, if need be, by fires, with those who watch by night upon certain gardes of wood, lately erected ; so that no foreign vessel could show itself without the country being warned.†

The Six Articles, which have come to be known as the Bloody Articles, were passed this year. The opening of Parliament is described thus :

The King, attended by all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, rode from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, and then, after Mass, he went into the Parliament Chamber. Lord Audley, the Chancellor, made an oration, and then the King, and his Lords put off their robes, and so rode to dinner at the King's Palace.‡

The Six Articles pronounced in favour of transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, auricular confession, communion in one kind only for the laity, prayers for the dead, and the permanency of vows once taken. In consequence of the passing of these articles, Latimer resigned the see of Worcester and Shaxton the see of Salisbury. Shaxton afterwards recanted, but Latimer was committed to the

* *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 770.

‡ *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, p. 94.

Tower, and even when he was released he was placed in the custody of the Bishop of Chichester. The passing of the Articles placed Cranmer in an extremely difficult position, as before his elevation to the see of Canterbury he had married Ann, daughter or niece of Osiander, a Nuremberg divine.* However, he complied with the Act, and sent his wife back to Germany, one story being that he had her spirited away in a trunk. This spirit of compliance so gratified the King that he sent the two Dukes to Lambeth to assure the Archbishop that the strenuous opposition offered by him to the passing of the Articles had in no way lowered him in the King's estimation.

Henry seems to have been in a specially festive mood this summer, and Marillac writes :

The King, who in some former years, has been solitary and pensive, now gives himself up to amusement, going to play every night upon the Thames, with harps, chanters, and all kinds of music and pastimes. He evidently delights now in painting and embroidery, having sent men to France, Flanders, Italy and elsewhere, for masters of the art, and also for musicians and other ministers of pastime.†

And Wriothesley describes a "triumph" that took place on the Thames during the month of June :

The Kinges Grace, with his Lordes and certeine Ladyes, stood on the leades over his privie stayers,‡ which was covered with canvas, and set with green bowes, and roses properlye made, so that rose-water sprinkled down from them into the Thames upon the ladyes and gentlemen, which were in the boates and barges under, to see the pastime.

* When Cranmer was at Cambridge he married Joan of "The Dolphin," whom he sent to live at the Inn so that she might not interfere with his studies (Strype III, p. 28). On the death of his first wife, he married Anne.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 1092.

‡ The King's Bridge was situated at the eastern end of the new Palace of Westminster some short distance from the Old Palace Stairs, and was so called in contradistinction to the Queen's Bridge or Stairs, situated at the west end of the Palace.

The chief incident in the "triumph" was a contest between two barges, one of which represented the King and the other the Pope. Naturally, the Pope's barge was worsted, the crew being all thrown overboard, though none were drowned, as care had been taken to have only men who could swim.*

This year the suppressed Priory of Grenefield, in Lincolnshire, was granted to Lady Willoughby with such lands as had been in the Prior's own cultivation.† Though the actual date of Lady Willoughby's death is not recorded, it must have occurred very soon after the bestowal of Greenfield. It would be interesting to know how the burial of her body in Katherine of Aragon's grave was effected. It was probably done in secret and without the knowledge of the King, though in this case the Duke of Suffolk would hardly have dared to be privy to it. In 1540 the Duke was granted livery of his wife's lands, and further large grants of abbey lands were bestowed upon him,‡ though certain of his own manors were demanded by the King in exchange. Among the religious houses that the Duke received was Mendham Priory § on the Waveney, between Norfolk and Suffolk, and when in 1815 the ruins were being removed to another site, carvings with the Duke's arms were discovered, in one instance impaling Mary Tudor's arms, and in the other instance Beke and Willoughby. The property that the Duke was now called upon to surrender to the Crown included Cravens and Henham, which had belonged to his grandfather, Sir William Brandon; Thornton, which had belonged to his uncle, Sir Robert Brandon;

* *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, p. 100.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 651.

‡ Grants 1540. The total value is given as £2028 0 1½. Revesby Abbey in Lincs, and Butley Abbey in Suffolk, were two of the abbeys.

§ Indenture 6th July, 30 Henry VIII between the King and Charles, Duke of Suffolk, being a bargain and sale by the Duke to the King of a rent of £50 reserved upon the lands of the late Monastery of Mendham, granted by the Duke to Ric. French; and also of the manors or lordships of Cravens and Henham, Suffolk, and the park called Benhale Park, etc. (*Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2, No. 1329).

Wingfield Castle, which had been De La Pole property ; Benhale, also once de la Pole property, which had been given to Lord Willoughby, and the Honour of Eye, with the Manor and Lordship of Eye, which came to him through his wife and had formed part of Cecilie Ufford's inheritance.

SUFFOLK to CROMWELL. 1538.

I beg you to be a mean to the King that I may have the lead of Barlings and Kirkestead, this is in the bill I put to the King at first for the exchange, and I thought His Highness was content therewith. It was also in the bill that I was to have the monasteries of Horesbe [?] and Butley [in Suffolk]. The King asked their value, and I said in the "Book of Tenths" it was £500. Now the King wants them for £280 with £120 "of a wanssesement mor dyn was in the bukes of the tenes"; so that I shall have but £400 and must pay in pensions yearly for the term of different lives, £430. Since the first bill, the King's pleasure is to have my house at Henham, which cost me £2,000 so that I am left without a house, and I trust that the King will relieve me somewhat to build one. The King was informed that the lead of Barlings and Kirkestead [in Lincolnshire] was worth £4,000, but Mr. Pollard will certify that there is but 400 fodder, which is not worth above £1,600. I trust that the King will consider that he shall have thus by exchange two houses, which cost me £14,000 and eight parks with timber.*

Austin Friars. April 12th. 29 Henry VIII. Order to pay £44 for charges and expenses of Sir Richard Rich [Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations],† Master Richard Pollard, Master Richard Southwell, and others, during three weeks in and about surveying of all the Duke of Suffolk's lands, and the late Prior of Butley, and all the Danby lands in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk.

April 18th. Boat hire for Sir Richard Rich, Knt., Thos. Pope, the Treasurer, and Richard Southwell, the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIII, No. 642.

† The Court of Augmentations was set up by Henry VIII for the increase of the revenue by the suppression of the monasteries and the religious houses. It was dissolved by Queen Mary.

particular receiver in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all the servants, from the Crane to the Duke of Suffolk's place at Westminster, and from thence to the Old Swan.*

The Old Swan Inn was above London Bridge, and prudent passengers insisted upon being landed there, and walking to some wharf (generally Billingsgate), rather than shooting London Bridge.

According to John Husee, the Duchess of Suffolk was in Lincolnshire in April 1540. A short time previously he refers in a letter to a little dog that Lady Lisle had sent him from Calais as a present for the Duchess. Like commissions were often entrusted to Husee, and many of them seem to have entailed considerable trouble :

I can never get you a hen of the Indies. I think my Lord will better speed from Rouen or Dieppe.†

I can find no one in the city, who will undertake to scour the carpet. Mr. Harry [Bassett] wants a warrant of a buck at his return from Devonshire. The bearer and I have been with the King's broiderer about sleeves, who requires twenty shillings for his labour. As to the stuff of the Lord Marquis [Exeter], and Lord Montagu, none was sold but that which my Lord Sussex had. The best was kept for the King.‡

The draper pressed me hard. I would he were paid.

The Lisles were now very much in debt, and this was soon to involve them in serious trouble. But in spite of these money difficulties, Lady Lisle still continued to send presents to her friends in England. In the summer of 1539, Francis Hall, the son of a former servant of the Duke of Suffolk, and now the controller at Calais, took the Duke some wine. Hall speaks of supping with the Duke in London, "who praised the wine as it deserved but not so much as he dispraised the wine that had been sent by his [Hall's] cousin, John Loveday." Hall goes

* *Shrewsbury MSS.*, 8th Report, pp. 24-5.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XII, p. 2, No. 296.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1, No. 1044.

on to say, that the Duke was keeping one piece for himself and was sending the other two to his wife who was now in Lincolnshire. And evidently negotiations for taking Mrs. Katherine Bassett were still in progress. Hall says: "the Duke is riding to Lincolnshire and will consult there with his wife, and he will send Lady Lisle such an answer as she will be pleased with—that as her Grace would be here before All Hallowtide till then there would be no time to send her." *

In August the Duke and Duchess paid a visit to Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his second wife, Grace Careless, at Sheffield Castle, which, in the time of the Earl's successor, was to be the prison for fourteen years of Mary Queen of Scots. From here the Duchess dictated what seems a tardy letter of thanks to Lady Lisle for her presents. This letter is interesting because it is the first of the Duchess's letters that has been preserved, and because, according to Francis Hall's covering letter, it was written after midnight. It seems curious that the Duchess should have been so fully occupied on this visit that she was obliged to write her letters in the middle of the night.

In my most hearty wise, I heartily recommend me unto your Ladyship, heartily thanking you for the good wine you sent me, which I assure you, was very good. And I also heartily thank you for the little dog, wherein I promise you, you have done me no little pleasure. Madam, my Lord, my husband has been heartily recommended to you, and to my Lord, your husband, and thanks you both for your kindness; also, I pray you to have me heartily recommended to my Lord your husband, as she who would be glad to be acquainted with him. No more at this time, but I beseech Jesus to have you in His keeping.

Written at my Lord of Shrewsbury's house in Yorkshire, the Saturday after Our Lord's Day, the Assumption.†

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, 1220.

† Miss Woods, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, Vol. II, p. 210.

Francis Hall forwarded this letter from Belvoir with one from his wife and one from Mrs. Katherine Bassett, and in the covering letter he prays Lady Lisle "to recommend him to all her gentlewomen, and all his friends in every place, and also to be this protector and defender, if there be any of adverse friendship, for the world changes very often nowadays." As it turned out, however, the roles were to be reversed, and Francis Hall was to be Lady Lisle's defender and protector.

The Duke of Suffolk must have been summoned to Court almost immediately after his visit to Sheffield Castle.

The EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON [Sir William Fitzwilliam], CUTHBERT, Bishop of Durham, and SIR WILLIAM KINGSTON to CROMWELL. *September 16, 1539.*

This day, as the King washed his hands before dinner, he called us to him and asked our advice about your Lordship's letter to Mr. Heneage, adding that he thought the More [More Park] a goodly house and a fit place to receive the Count Palatine. After consultation, the King resolved that he will not be at Windsor till Monday, and on Tuesday he will have my Lord Lisle to bring the Count Palatine to Windsor; my Lord of Suffolk to meet him two or three miles outside the town and bring him to his lodging's [the Dean's house]. If the said Count declare things to the King's pleasure he may be entertained there longer, but if his charge be of no great weight, he may return to London on Thursday, and receive his answer from the Council. We then desired to know which of the Council His Highness would have there, naming my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of Norfolk, Suffolk, Oxford, Sussex and Hertford. His Highness said he would have no more of the Council save my Lord of Suffolk to accompany him, and the Lord Chancellor, naming of himself Mr. Treasurer. His Highness desired us to send a post from him to my Lord of Suffolk, because His Highness is nearer my said Lord here, than you are in London. You are also to resort to the said Court, bidding him welcome, and to feel, whether you can grope out of him wherefore he is come. You shall afterwards

show him the Tower and the ordinance, if you think it advisable.*

The Count Palatine was *Philip der Streitbare* ; he and his brother, the Count Palatine Otto, are the Ambassadors in Holbein's picture of that name at the National Gallery. Philip was a scholar and a distinguished soldier, but he was a younger brother and very poor. He had heard through Guldenfinger, a Nuremberg jeweller, that Henry VIII's secretary had said in Guldenfinger's presence that the King would gladly marry his daughter Mary to a German Prince. On the strength of this information a correspondence was started, and in November 1539 Philip, accompanied by his brother's chancellor and master of the horse, set out for Calais. Here the Count Palatine was the guest for some time of Lord Lisle, who subsequently accompanied him to England. Lord Lisle writes to his wife that the Count Palatine had been met beyond Eton Bridge by the Duke of Suffolk with a goodly band of men.† He also speaks of feasts that had been given in the Count's honour by the King ; these feasts make the gifts that Lady Lisle refers to in the following letter sound rather superfluous :

I send you partridges by Michael Eyes, and now I send you a partridge pasty and a baked crane, praying you to present some of them to the Palsgrave.

Still more embarrassing to our notions would be another gift that Lady Lisle mentions in the same letter :

I send unto you also my toothpicker, which I thought to have given to Duke Philip while he was here. . . . I send it to him because I did see him wear a pin to pick his teeth withal, and I pray you to show him that it has been mine these seven years. I think that it will not be lost.‡

During this separation from her husband, Lady Lisle concludes one of her letters by saying :

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 2, No. 183.

† *Ibid.*, No. 217.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 305.

I bid you farewell as she that doth endure with as little sleep as any woman living.*

While in another she writes :

Whereas I wrote to you that I would rather have two lines in your hand than a hundred in another man's, I did not mean in your ordinary business, but only of such secrets as you might think fit to communicate at your leisure. No woman ever thought her husband's absence longer than I have done. Also, I wish to hear how you have sped with the King, beseeching you to use yourself to His Majesty that it may be to your honour and profit. I beseech you to trust yourself, for if redress be not now had, I know not when it will be.†

Lord Lisle was very anxious at this time to be made governor to Prince Edward. He was finding his post at Calais one of increasing difficulty ; he was deeply in debt ; there were constant disputes with the soldiers ; and as Lady Lisle was a strict Catholic he had become involved in religious controversies. It was doubtless these Catholic tenets of Lady Lisle that induced Foxe to describe her in his *Martyrology* as "an utter enemy to God's honour, and in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil." And even John Husee deemed it expedient to write to her to beg her to be less rigid and to adapt herself more to the spirit of the times.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 2, No. 207.

† *Ibid.*, No. 205.

CHAPTER XII

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves—Suffolk made Great Master of the Household—Suffolk's acquisition of lands and mules—International tournament at Durham House—Suffolk's contribution as a Knight of the Garter—Arrest of Lord Lisle—Divorce of Anne of Cleves—Execution of Cromwell—Inventory of his furniture—Henry's marriage with Katherine Howard—Plight of Lady Lisle—Matters dealt with by the Privy Council.

THE King, meanwhile, had met with two matrimonial disappointments. His marriage with the Duchess of Milan was encouraged by the Emperor only so long as Henry and King Francis were at variance, and directly the two monarchs were reconciled, the marriage project was dropped. Another possible bride, Mary of Guise, the widowed Duchess of Longueville, preferred to marry Henry's nephew, James V of Scotland. Finally, Cromwell's anxiety to bring about a closer union between Henry and the Protestant princes of Germany led to the selection of Anne of Cleves. Holbein was sent to paint her portrait, of which the King approved, and Anne landed at Dover on the twenty-ninth of December 1539 as the King's affianced bride. The Duchess of Suffolk was one of the ladies who were deputed to meet Anne; each lady was attended by a knight or a squire, wearing a chain of gold and dressed in "a coat or gown of velvet or other good stuff."

SUFFOLK and CHEYNE to CROMWELL. *December 29th, 1539.*

The Mayor and citizens of Canterbury received Her Grace with torch light and a good peal of guns. In Her Grace's chamber were forty or fifty gentlewomen, in velvet bonnets, to see her, all which Her Grace took

very joyously, and she was so glad to see His Highness's subjects resort so lovingly to her that she forgot the foul weather, and was very merry at supper.*

Wriothesley relates that the King, attended by five gentlemen, came in disguise to Rochester and stole unawares on the Princess as she stood at a window watching a bull being baited. But whatever the circumstances of their first meeting may have been, his new bride was a terrible disappointment to Henry. He said that her looks reminded him of a Flemish mare, and that, as she was only able to speak Dutch, he could not hope to derive any pleasure from her conversation. Marillac describes the fifteen ladies who accompanied Anne as being even plainer than their mistress. They were so unbecomingly dressed, he says, that they would have been thought ugly even if they had been beautiful.

The official meeting between Henry and Anne of Cleves took place at Blackheath, and the Duke Philip of Bavaria, Count Palatine, who was now the suitor of Princess Mary, was in the King's company.

On the hill shall be "pight" the King's rich pavilion, and others for other noble persons to retire to, after the Princess has been presented to His Highness. Before the King meets with her, all serving men shall depart, and range themselves aloof in the field. The rest of the gentlemen are to ride in two ranges, on either side, that His Highness may only have such as shall be assigned, before and after him.

That same day the marriage took place in the Queen's Closet at Greenwich, and in the afternoon they went in procession, the Queen, as we are told, "being in her haire, with a rich coronet of stones and pearl set with rosemary † on her head."

In the spring of 1540 the Duke of Norfolk was sent on a mission to France, and the Duke of Suffolk was made

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 2, No. 754.

† Rosemary was much used at weddings.

Great Master of the Household, a new office which carried with it a lodging at Hampton Court. All this time the Duke had been busily acquiring land for himself and his relations. In March of this year he writes to Cromwell to beg him to defer the sale of Fountains Abbey "until my coming, which shall be, God willing, within fourteen days after yesterday, and I shall prove it worth the staying." *

A little later we find him expressing the hope that his servant, Edward Hall, may be allowed to buy the lordship of Gretford, part of the King's Augmentation lands, which had formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Mary's, Winchester.† The Duke seems to have had a taste for acquiring mules as well as land : at the time of Wolsey's disgrace all his mules were assigned to the Duke ; as the mules were valued at fifteen pounds a pair and the horses at only one pound, the gift was a handsome one. In 1540 Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, who had been given the custody of Latimer, was himself sent to the Tower ; evidently the Duke coveted the Bishop's mule, for Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cromwell :

Touching Mr. Latimer, His Majesty would have him remain in the Bishop of Chichester's house. I said that you had sent Mr. Pollard to take an inventory of Mr. Latimer's so that nothing should be embezzled. With this the King was well content. Also that Master Suffolk should have the use of the Bishop of Chichester's mule, and if finally, the Bishop's goods are confiscated, that Master Suffolk may have the mule as the King's gift.‡

During the month of May a so-called International Tournament was held in the tilt-yard at Westminster, but only Englishmen seem to have taken part in it, although challenges were sent to all the principal courts in Europe. The principal combatants were the Earl of

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 346.

† *Ibid.*, No. 296.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 719.

Surrey,* Lord Clinton (the husband of the King's former mistress, Elizabeth Blount), Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour (the two latter had both been knighted by the Duke of Suffolk on the bridge over the Somme during the French expedition of 1523), Sir Thomas Poynings and Cromwell's son Gregory, and his nephew Richard Cromwell. Each day, at the close of the proceedings, the challengers rode to Durham House, where they feasted not only the King and Queen, but every one else that liked to come. Durham House, which stood next to Suffolk House, was originally built by Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, but, like most of the ecclesiastical houses in London, it seems seldom to have been occupied by its rightful owners, and in 1538 it had been conveyed to the King by Act of Parliament. The feasts at Durham House during the International Tournament are thus described by Wriothesley :

They had all delicious meats and drinks so plenteously as might be, and such a melody of minstrelry, and were served every meal by their own servants, after the manner of war, their drums warning all the officers of the household against every meal, which was done to the great honour of this realm.†

The jousts lasted six days, and at their conclusion each challenger received a hundred marks from the King and a house to dwell in. These rewards were provided out of the revenues of the Knights Hospitallers who had been dispossessed by Act of Parliament in deference to the King's wishes, because of their fidelity to the Pope.

On May the twenty-fourth it is recorded that ten pounds "contribution money" has been paid by the Duke of Suffolk, as a Knight of the Garter, "for alms, as mending the highways, or such other works of charity, for the souls of certain Knights, lately departed out of this transitory life." ‡

* The poet Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk.

† *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, pp. 116-17.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 707.

About this time Lord Lisle was arrested. The charge brought against him was that he had been treating to deliver up Calais to Cardinal Pole. Marillac writes :

Two days ago, at night, Lord Lisle, Deputy of Calais, uncle of the King, was led prisoner to the Tower, where previously three of his servants had been sent, and similarly a chaplain of his, who had come in a ship from Flanders. The said Lord is in a very narrow place from which no one escapes except as by a miracle.*

The chaplain and one of Lord Lisle's servants were executed, and Lord Lisle himself was kept in close confinement.

In July the pretext of a pre-contract—a pretext that must so often have proved convenient—enabled Henry to rid himself of Anne of Cleves. The task of informing her of the King's decision was entrusted to Suffolk and Southampton. Anne was staying at the time at Richmond ; though at first she was much distressed, she ended by accepting the situation in a most accommodating spirit ; the promise of a good jointure, and the assurance that in future the King intended to regard her in the light of an adopted sister seem to have mollified her completely. Suffolk must have felt much more at his ease on his ride home after the interview, than he had felt after his mission of a like nature to Katherine of Aragon. After the repudiation of Anne came the downfall of Cromwell. The Catholic party were now in the ascendant, and a hint of treason—a hint that the King, ever since the northern rebellion, had been quick to credit—led to Cromwell's arrest. As he was about to take his seat at the Council Board on June the tenth, he was checked by the Duke of Norfolk, the captain of the Guard was called in, and an order was given that the Lord Privy Seal should be conveyed to the Tower. Like his master Wolsey, Cromwell had made himself many enemies by his arrogance and ostentation, and by a

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 697.

summary process that he himself had originated to meet the case of the Countess of Salisbury, he was condemned to death. Only a month or two previously he had been created Earl of Essex on the death of the last Earl of the Bouchier family. A contemporary miniature of Cromwell is one of the few things at Grimsthorpe which may possibly have belonged to the Duke of Suffolk.

The inventories of Cromwell's goods give us some idea of how the houses of the rich were then furnished. According to an inventory of 1528, his hall had "a hanging of red and green saye 'paned,' a gilt cupboard with an old levant carpet, a large table of wainscoat, a pair of trestles, six gilt stools and footstools, a great gilt chair, two chairs of Flanders work, covered in leather, three little gilt chairs for women, three long 'sedylls,' six cushions of verdure with a red rose wrought in them, two carpets, one verdure, the other coarse, a 'portall of wainscoat, joined,' an image of Lucrecys Romana on a table, an image of Carolus the Emperor and a table of Our Lord, my Lord Cardinal's arms, gilt in canvas, and a mirror of Flanders work, gilt." The fireplace was furnished with andirons, bellows, and tongs. The Parlour has "painted tables of Our Lord, Our Lady, and Lucrecys Romana, a table of my Lord Cardinal's arms, painted and gilt, and a cloth stained with images of a man and woman, lovers." In the window was a carpet and a "great glass." No chairs are mentioned in this room, only two long sedyll, stools, and footstools, and a "pair of playing-tables of wood and bone." These tables were for back-gammon; two tables hinged together form the board. In the Parlour attached to the Kitchen were a "mappa mundi of canvas, an old chest, an image of a 'foli' to hold a towel and a hanging laver with a cock, to wash." In Mr. Prior's chamber were "1 dozen damask napkins, 9 towels and 5 pillow beres with black seams," and "in the Buttery within the Hall, a mould of white plate for candles, an old turned chair, a barber's

basin, and a ewer and a table carved with the King's arms." *

In the inventory taken just before Cromwell's execution "a cloth stayned with the taking of the French King" is mentioned, and "a table with my Lord Marquis's arms," † the latter being no doubt the arms of the Marquis of Exeter. In his will, Cromwell speaks of "my best joined bed of Flanders work."

The inventory of the goods of Sir Adrian Fortescue, another suspected accomplice in the Yorkist plot, mentions a round table of cypress, with "a piece of counterfeit carpet" upon it and "a great standard with divers apparel belonging to the Lady Foskewe."

A somewhat earlier inventory is that of Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond. Among his possessions were a chest with broken old-fashioned plate and jewels, "which I have heard my master say, he would cause to be copied," a clock worth £4, a standing bed and a "parver" like a tent and a coffer chequered with bone.

The death of Cromwell had serious consequences for the Protestant party. The Six Articles were now enforced far more rigidly than they had been during his lifetime. In referring to this period, Fuller writes :

A stranger standing by did wonder, as well he might, of what religion the King was, his sword cutting on both sides, Protestants being burnt for heretics and Papists hanged as traitors.‡

But, as a matter of fact, the King's marriage to Katherine Howard§ this August was regarded as a definite triumph for the Catholic party. After the marriage, which took place at Oatlands, the King and Queen started on a progress, Ewelme, near Abingdon, a house that Suffolk had been required to surrender, being one of the places to be visited. Katherine Howard was the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, p. 2, No. 3197.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 317.

‡ Fuller's *Church History*, p. 235.

§ Daughter of Lord Edward Howard.

first of the King's wives that exerted herself to retain his affections. She had chosen as her device, "Non autre volonté que la sienne." * "The King," writes Marillac, "is so amorous of her that he cannot treat her well enough." And after describing Katherine, who, he says, was of short stature and graceful rather than beautiful, he speaks of her and her ladies as all being dressed according to the French style.

After the progress, the King and Queen went to Hampton Court, and the Lords of the Council, we are told, "departed home, only assembling from time to time when advertized of affairs by the King." On one such occasion the Privy Council met at Suffolk House near Charing Cross. It seems probable that the Duke of Suffolk had some hand in this arrangement, as one of the matters dealt with by the Council was the following appeal from Francis Hall :

I have had Lady Lisle, and three of her folk, twenty-seven weeks, and I cannot without help longer maintain them.†

The Duke was evidently proving a staunch friend to Lady Lisle, as, though no name is given, the letter which follows must have been addressed to her :

I have forborne to write to you all this while, hoping to have been able to send some other news. I have thought it my duty to visit you with these letters, in order to learn your estate in this your heaviness, praying you to be as plain with me, in stating your condition, and what you lack, as I have in times past been bold to seek redress at your husband's hands. I assure you that though I lack such plenty as I could wish to help you with, I will have no penny in the world that will not always be readily at your service. I have not been slothful on your husband's behalf, and if my letters do not speed soon, I will make the more haste up myself. When we have

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 12.

† *Ibid.*, No. 298.

done what we can, the matter lieth in God's hands, who will order all things for the best.

Signed, [?] SUFFOLK *
fr. Grymsthorpe.

Anxiety on her husband's account so preyed upon Lady Lisle's mind that she finally lost her reason. A charge on her husband's estates was then made to pay for her maintenance at Calais.

At a meeting of the Privy Council at Hampton Court in the spring of 1541 the following items of business are recorded :

Letter sent to Malt, the King's tailor, to make for Lord Lisle, now a prisoner in the Tower, a large gown of damask furred with black coney and nine other items, the bill to be sent to the Council. A like letter sent to Sent, the Queen's tailor, to make for the late Countess of Salisbury, prisoner in the Tower, a nightgown furred, a kirtle of worsted and a petticoat furred and four other items.†

There is irony about these gifts of clothes to Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. She can have had little opportunity for wearing them as, in the following May, she was beheaded on the Green within the Tower. She had been in prison for two years, her only crime being that she was the mother of Cardinal Pole, the hope of the Yorkist party.

On March the thirteenth the Council considered the case of Thomas Chey, late scholar of Eton, "who confessed to a robbery by him, and others, at Eton College." And on the following day, "Nicholas Uvedale, Schoolmaster of Eton, suspected to be of counsel of a robbery by Thomas Chey and John Hoorde pleaded guilty" and was committed to the Marshalsea.‡ Uvedale was soon released. He was allowed to resume his post, and he became Canon of Windsor in Edward VI's reign. He continued to be Master of Eton till 1555, and is described by Walter Haddon as "the best schoolmaster of his time, as well as the greatest beater."

* *Salisbury MSS.*, p. 45.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 581.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 614.

CHAPTER XIII

Henry VIII's progress in 1541—Grimsthorpe.

THE progress of Henry VIII in 1541 was planned on a far more magnificent scale than usual. The Queen was to accompany him, and not only were they to show themselves to the King's late rebellious subjects in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, but Henry had also arranged to hold a conference at York with his nephew, James V of Scotland, in order to discuss common measures against the clergy. Henry had repeatedly impressed upon his nephew the wealth that would be his if he would only follow his example and seize the monasteries.

The royal party proceeded to the north by way of Enfield, St. Albans, Grafton and Ampthill, and meetings of the Privy Council were held on the way. One of these meetings took place at Collie Weston, in Northamptonshire, a house which had been built by the King's grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Derby. On this occasion the Council was called upon to decide a dispute which had arisen as to who was to carry a white mace before the King when he made his state entry into Stamford.

A contention having arisen between the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, an Alderman of Stamford, and the Bailiff of the Liberties of Peterborough, with regard to the King's intended progress through Stamford towards York, a provisional order is made which is for this time only, and shall not prejudice any rights of the parties.*

It is not stated which of the disputants obtained the coveted privilege.

* *Victoria History of Lincolnshire.*

The members of the Privy Council who were present, were the Duke of Suffolk, Grand Master ; the Earl of Southampton, Lord Privy Seal and Chancellor of the Duchy ; the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain ; Sir John Russell, Great Admiral ; Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Pensioners ; and Sir William Paulet, Controller. And on the eighth of August the King and Queen, accompanied by these members of the Council, arrived at Grimsthorpe.

The old Beaumont house, to which the Duke of Suffolk had marched at the head of his artillery in 1536, had now been almost entirely rebuilt in honour of the King's visit. More than a century later Fuller, quoting the words of the prophet Haggai who accused men of " living in ceiled palaces, whilst the temple of God lay waste," writes :

No country affords worse houses or better Churches than Lincolnshire. Amongst the houses of nobility I take signal notice of two. One Tattershall, a premeditate building. But Grimsthorpe I call an extempore structure, set up on a sudden by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to entertain the King in these parts.

We have seen that when he was required to give up his houses of Cravens, Henham, and Thorndon, which he said were worth fourteen thousand pounds, as well as other property in Suffolk, the Duke had expressed a hope that the King " would relieve him somewhat in order that he might build himself another house." As Tattershall, the most important castle in Lincolnshire, had been bestowed upon him, the Duke must have resolved to rebuild Grimsthorpe on so large a scale because it lay on the route of this royal progress, and this scale has proved a source of frequent embarrassment to the Duchess and her descendants. The long wing at Skipton Castle was built in five months for the reception of Suffolk's daughter, Lady Eleanor Clifford, and Grimsthorpe was evidently rebuilt in a comparatively short space of time also.

Writing to Cromwell from Vaudey Abbey in August 1536, John Freeman, the King's goldsmith, says :

The King's commissioner commands me to pull down to the ground all the walls of the churches, steeples, etc., leaving only houses necessary for a farmer. "Sire, there be more of great houses in Lincolnshire than be in England beside suppressed of their value, with thick walls, and most part of them vawlted, and few byars of other stone, glasse or slatt, which might help the charges of plokying down of them." The religious houses in Lincolnshire are built with such thick walls that to take them down would cost 6000 or 7000 marks in this county alone, which would be spared if I would be allowed to take down the bells and lead, then the roofs, battlements and stairs, and last, let the walls stand, using the material as a profitable quarry of stones to make sales of.*

As we have seen, Vaudey Abbey had been granted to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and they evidently made use of the stone to rebuild Grimsthorpe ; during recent alterations, pieces of carved stone were found among the rubble in one of the walls. The base of a beautifully-carved column was dug out, during the last century, on the site of the abbey, but it has completely crumbled away, and now not a stone remains to mark the spot where the Abbey once stood. The first house at Grimsthorpe was probably built by Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, in the reign of King John. Leland says :

The place of Grimsthorpe was no new thing afore the building of the second court, yet was all the old work of stone ; the gatehouse was faire and strong, the waulles of either side of it embattled.

The fact that the old house had been embattled was a very important point, as the new house might, therefore, be embattled also, but it was necessary to obtain a licence to embattle a new erection, and the Lord

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XI, No. 242.

Chancellor was obliged to sue for a pardon because he had omitted to apply for a licence to embattle his new house at Titchfield.*

The north front of Grimsthorpe was rebuilt by Vanbrugh in 1722, but the quadrangular shape of the Duke of Suffolk's house was retained, and the west front has retained much of its Tudor character—in spite of some new Gothic additions that were made during the early nineteenth century—and so do the south and east fronts. Most of the windows, however, have been altered; sashes have in many cases replaced the old mullions, and only on the top storey have a few of the old leaded lattices been spared. In the Duke of Suffolk's day chimneys were just coming into general use, and the chimneys in the outside walls are still one of the features of Grimsthorpe. Not very long ago a well was discovered in a cellar beneath the present hall, which must have been the well that supplied the water for the original house, so that the gatehouse and moat probably occupied the site of the present hall and drive. Kip executed several engravings of Grimsthorpe in 1674. In these the centre of the north front has pilasters between the windows, and a pediment, while the north-west and north-east towers also have pediments. The pilasters between the windows in the centre of this front are strongly reminiscent of Lindsey House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was built in 1640 by Inigo Jones for the Duchess of Suffolk's grandson, Robert Bertie, first Earl of Lindsey. In William Kent's collection of Inigo Jones's designs,† published in 1770, there is a design for a country house with a central treatment much like the one in Kip's engraving of the north front of Grimsthorpe. In view of

* "Jan. 17, 1541. Grant. Sir Thomas Wriothesley. Licence to build walls and towers within the late Abbey of Titchfield, also pardon to the said Sir Thomas for having without licence, transferred the said Abbey and Manor House of Titchfield, etc., into a chief messuage of the manor, into a great a solemn place, and decorated it with towers and embattlements."—*Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, No. 137 (54).

† Plates 3 and 5.

the heavy sacrifices that the Civil War imposed upon the Bertie family, it is far more probable that the original alterations to the Duke of Suffolk's house were carried out by the first Earl of Lindsey rather than by his son or grandson. Leland speaks of a second court that was built by the Duke of Suffolk, and one can only surmise that this second court was what now comprises the entrance court. In Kip's engraving it has a wall running round it, and the gateway is flanked by two octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. These cupolas may have been built by the Duke ; together with the wall of Kip's engraving, they were swept away by Vanburgh. The interior walls of the quadrangle, or second court, have been very little changed, but new offices have been erected in the courtyard, and an occasional glimpse from an upper window is all that can now be obtained of the old stone-work.

In most old houses successive generations have taken a tantalizing delight in altering the work of their immediate predecessors as much as they possibly could ; in one point only have they usually been conservative, namely, in retaining the principal apartments in the same part of the house. At Grimsthorpe, except for the south-east tower that tradition has always assigned to the reign of King John—the sole survival of the Gant house—the whole of the interior has been altered since the Duke of Suffolk's day. In the John Tower the rooms have groined roofs ; a newel stairs leads from the first to the second story, and the original doorway to the room on the first floor has recently been uncovered. As regards the rest of the house, an inventory made in the time of the first Earl of Lindsey mentions a presence chamber, the Queen's chamber, " my old Lord's chamber " (the Duchess's son Peregrine, Lord Willoughby), " my Lady Mary's chamber " (the Duchess's daughter-in-law, Lady Mary de Vere), and the " gazing chamber." On the first floor the bedroom communicating with the

John tower is known as the Suffolk room ; assuming that this was the room called the Queen's chamber, it is possible that the three drawing-rooms adjoining it were then the privy chamber, the presence chamber, and an ante-room. The first drawing-room next to the Suffolk Room has a low ceiling, but the other two have coved ceilings which were no doubt put in during the eighteenth century. The three drawing-rooms all have oriel windows now, but in Kip's engraving only two oriels appear. The end room of this wing on the first floor is in the north-east tower ; up to the beginning of the last century this room, which is now the large dining-room, was the kitchen. To our ideas the position is curiously inconvenient for a kitchen, but, as the room served this purpose in the eighteenth century, it probably did so in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also. The present north-east tower is the work of Vanbrugh, but the low vaulted room under the present dining-room bears a strong resemblance to the wine cellar at Hampton Court, and to other cellars in Tudor buildings ; and it therefore seems probable that Vanbrugh copied the design of the old cellar when he discovered that he had to build a stronger one to support the weight of his massive tower. He evidently made use of the foundations, for at floor-level the thickness of the wall is five feet, but at thirty inches from the ground there is an eleven-inch set-off marking the new part. As this vaulted room was used, until quite recently, as the servants' hall, everything points to its having been the Tudor wine-cellar—the place where, in those days, the servants assembled to gossip. Under this vaulted room there are wine-cellars according to the present meaning of the word. Fuller visited Grimsthorpe about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the time of the Duchess's great-grandson, Montagu, second Earl of Lindsey ; he speaks of a hall hung with tapestry that had belonged to Mary Tudor. But hall and tapestry alike

have vanished, and the present hall, which occupies two storeys in the centre of the house, was built by Vanbrugh. The chapel, also of two storeys, is in the north-west tower, and one may safely assume that in position at any rate it has never been altered, though, unfortunately, nothing remains of the Tudor chapel where Latimer preached so many of his sermons. It seems possible that Vanbrugh merely encased this tower instead of rebuilding it, for the north-west tower has fewer storeys than the north-east tower, and there is therefore less weight to support. The plaster-work inside the chapel is earlier than Vanbrugh. It has been assigned to the reign of Charles II, though a design for a chapel in Kent's collection * again suggests that Inigo Jones may have been the decorator. In other parts of the house there is plaster-work in designs used by Inigo Jones. A low gallery is mentioned in the Duchess of Suffolk's Household Accounts. "William Haye of Ednam is paid twelve shillings for three painted clothes bestowed in the low gallery," † and the formation of the windows of the lower corridor in the south wing overlooking the inner courtyard suggests that this corridor may have formed part of the low gallery alluded to. The original glass in these windows was removed only recently. In the Household Rules drawn up by the Duchess of Suffolk's son, Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, a parlour is mentioned, as well as a chapel and a great chamber. At the end of the south corridor is a small room which has always gone by the name of the Hunting Parlour. This room, as well as several other rooms in the same part of the house, has pine panelling which is now proved to have been used in the reign of Charles I, so it may have been put in by the first Earl of Lindsey. A newel stairs in the west wing is a survival of the Duke of Suffolk's house, and some oak panelling in a ground-floor room, which owes

* The Designs of Inigo Jones, Plate 50.

† *Ancaster MSS.*

its preservation to the fact that this room has always formed part of the servants' quarters, may also date to the Duke's time.

From this account it will be seen that could the royal party who stayed at Grimsthorpe in 1541 revisit the house, they would easily recognize three of its fronts, but they would find the interior much altered.

CHAPTER XIV

Katherine Howard's intrigues—Money paid to the King in Lincolnshire—James V breaks his engagement to meet Henry at York—Lascelles' revelations regarding Katherine Howard's love affairs—Imparted to the King by Cranmer—Letters from Marillac—Sir Ralph Sadler—The Council to Paget—Katherine Howard charged at Hampton Court—Removed to Sion—Chapuys to Granville—Marillac to King Francis—Suffolk's part in the investigations—Marillac to King Francis—Execution of Katherine Howard.

A MEETING of the Privy Council took place at Grims-
thorpe on the eighth of August, at which the Duke of
Norfolk was present. While no business of sufficient
importance to be recorded was transacted by the Council,
an affair was now in progress which was to have a very
tragic sequel. The King was deeply attached to his
young wife and, to all appearances, Katherine returned
his affection. But this girl of nineteen had had an
amorous past. Being an orphan, she had been brought
up by her grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk, and
at the age of thirteen had had a love affair with Henry
Mannock, a musician in the Duchess's household. The
affair was discovered, and Katherine was beaten while
Mannock was merely reprimanded. Not very long
after the girl became involved in another and more
serious entanglement. It was the Duchess's rule that
the keys of the maids' dormitories should be brought to
her bedroom last thing at night. But Francis Dering, a
gentleman in the Duke of Norfolk's service, had fallen
in love with Katherine, and, true to the old saying that
love laughs at locksmiths, he and two friends were in the
habit of paying constant visits to the maids' quarters
in the Duchess's house at Lambeth, bringing with them

delicacies for the feasts in which they used to indulge. He also brought Katherine presents. One of these presents consisted of a "silk heart's-ease," and in exchange for this, Katherine gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. After a time, these nocturnal orgies were discovered by Mannock, and furious at being supplanted, he wrote an anonymous letter to the Duchess, advising her to pay a surprise visit one night to the maids' quarters. Katherine, however, intercepted the letter, and showed it to Dering, whereupon a quarrel ensued between the two men which brought the matter to the ears of the Duchess. Naturally she was very angry, but as Dering had fled, she could only vent her anger upon Katherine, who was again beaten. Dering did not stay away long, but when he returned he discovered that Katherine had ceased to care for him, and that she had now bestowed her wayward affections elsewhere. Her new lover, Thomas Culpeper, was a cousin, and as he was the owner of considerable property in Kent, the chances are that he would have married her had not the King's fancy happened to light upon Katherine at this juncture. The Catholic party were now particularly eager to detach the King from the Protestants, and even Gardiner did all in his power to second the Howard family in their efforts to bring about a marriage between Katherine and Henry. Dazzled by the idea of being Queen, Katherine yielded. At first she played her part admirably. She exerted herself to captivate and amuse Henry in a way that none of his other wives had ever done, and then, for some reason, she seems to have lost her head completely on the progress. Culpeper was already one of the King's gentlemen, and she now made Dering her secretary. When giving his evidence Culpeper said that the Queen had sent for him on the previous Maundy Thursday, and had given him a velvet cap, and that on from that time he had had many stolen interviews with the Queen at Greenwich, Lincoln, Pomfret, York, and other places.

He said that at every house in which they had stayed during the progress, the Queen would herself seek for the back stairs. It was Lady Rochford, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, that had procured the interviews. Culpeper said that "Lady Rochford had provoked him much to love the Queen." *

According to Katherine Tylney, one of the Queen's maids, "Lady Rochford sent such strange messages by her that she knew not how to utter them." At Hampton Court, on their return, the Queen had bade her go to Lady Rochford and ask her "how she should have the thing that Lady Rochford had promised her," and when they were still on the progress the Queen had sent her with a like message when they were at my Lord of Suffolk's.† The deliberations of the Privy Council, and where they took place, seem therefore of little moment compared with the interest attaching to the two existing newel stairs at Grimsthorpe, which must both of them have been furtively examined by the young Queen as a possible means of entry for her lover. As they acknowledged that these interviews lasted from eleven at night till three in the morning, the wonder is that they were not discovered.

It would be interesting to know how the royal party spent the day at Grimsthorpe once the deliberations of the Council were over. The "grease season," the season when the deer were fat or in grease, only lasted from the twenty-fourth of June until the fourteenth of September, and "Fermisons," the period for hunting the doe, did not commence until the eleventh of November, but probably these restrictions were disregarded on this occasion. A royal hunt was usually a very cruel affair, the deer being all netted in. The atrocities committed by the Imperial troops at the sack of Rome in 1527 were likened by Wolsey to the scene after a royal hunt had been held.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1539.

† *Ibid.*, No. 1339.

On leaving Grimsthorpe, the King and Queen went on to Sleaford, Lincoln, and Gainsborough, "an humble submission being made to them by the temporality, confessing their offences, and thanking the King for his pardon."

Twenty pounds expressed the "humble submission" of Stamford, forty pounds that of Lincoln, and fifty pounds that of Boston, which shows that at this date Boston was still the richest town in Lincolnshire. The division of Lindsey gave three hundred pounds, while the Chapter of Lincoln and the division of Kesteven only gave fifty pounds each. After leaving Lincolnshire the King and Queen went to Yorkshire, and spent six days at York, awaiting the arrival of the King of Scotland, who, much to the annoyance of his royal uncle, never came. On two occasions during the progress the King and Queen stayed at houses of which the late owners had been attainted and executed: Sir Robert Constable's house in Yorkshire, and Sleaford Castle, which had recently been built by Lord Hussey.

On their return journey the King and Queen spent the night of October the fourteenth at Grimsthorpe; the meeting of the Privy Council, which was held the following day at Collie Weston, is the last one on the progress at which the Duke of Suffolk was present.

It was during the King and Queen's absence on the progress that stories of Katherine Howard's past were brought to Cranmer by a gentleman named John Lascelles, whose sister had formerly been in the service of the Howard family. Knowing the King's affection for his wife, Cranmer had not the heart to tell him to his face, but handed him a paper with John Lascelles's story one morning after mass.

MARILLAC TO KING FRANCIS. *November 11th, 1541.*

I must send you special notice of a matter by which the English seem more troubled than I have ever seen

them. The King, being with the ladies at Hampton Court, as gay as ever I saw him, with a small company of the Privy Council, on Saturday last, the fifth inst., about midnight, sent an express hither for Norfolk (who having had plague in his house, was not to go to Court for fifteen days yet), and to summon the Chancellor; and also wrote to Suffolk, who was at his house [Grims-thorpe or Tattershall], and not to return until Christmas, the Lord Privy Seal, who was in the country, the Admiral, Mr. Cheyne, and others, who were the chief of his Council, to repair hither. Norfolk, and the Chancellor were at Hampton Court on Sunday morning, and the King, on the pretext that he was going hunting, dined at a little place in the fields, and at night came secretly to this town, the Council of which was called at midnight, and did not disperse till four or five a.m., on Monday. These Lords have been ever since in Council, morning and evening, the King assisting them, which he is not wont to do, and they show themselves very troubled, especially Norfolk, who is esteemed very resolute, and not easily moved to show by his face what his heart conceives. These things must be due to some object of great importance of which people speak at random. Therefore, although the matter is not clear, it is thought the King wishes to change his wife; and if so would your Majesty say, whether anything could be done here to make him take back the sister of the Duke of Cleves, and so to facilitate the alliance that your Majesty desires, and a strong league against the Emperor, including the Almain, who were alienated from King Henry by his repudiation of the Duke of Cleves' sister. I am moved to presume that the King wishes to change his wife, because I hear the Queen is newly accused of being entertained by a gentleman [Dering] while she was in the house of the old Duchess of Norfolk, and because physicians say that she cannot bear children. The way taken is the same as with Queen Anne, who was beheaded. The Queen has taken no kind of pastime, but has kept her chamber, whereas she did nothing before but dance and rejoice, and now when the musicians come, they are told it is no more a time to dance.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1332.

SIR RALPH SADLER to CRANMER. *November 12th.*

After the dispatch of letters from the whole Council and others here, upon the arrival of the Lord Admiral and Mr. Browne, the King learnt that the Queen had been examined touching Culpeper, but had not sufficiently declared the communications at their meetings. The King desires them to essay again to get more from her, if her wits are such that they may do so without danger to her. If her health permits, she is to remove to Sion Monday, and be told to-morrow to prepare. Mr. Seymour shall remain at Hampton Court with the Queen's jewels till after she has left, and shall then bring them hither.

Sir Ralph Sadler then gives minute directions as to which dresses are to be "appointed to the Queen." It is specially stipulated that the dresses that she retains are to be without stone or pearl.*

THE COUNCIL to PAGET (Ambassador at the Court of France).

We are commanded to signify to you a most miserable case, lately revealed. The King, on sentence being given of the invalidity of his marriage with the Princess Anne of Cleves, and being solicited by his Council to marry again, took to wife Katherine, daughter of the late Lord Edward Howard, thinking now in his old age, to have obtained a [jewel] for womanhood. But this joy is turned to extreme sorrow [for] after receiving his Maker on All Hallows Day last, and directing the Bishop of Lincoln, his [ghostly father] to make prayers, and to give thanks for the good life he was living, and hoped to [lead with her], on All Souls Day, at Mass, the Archbishop of Canterbury, having heard that the Queen was not a woman of [such purity] as was esteemed, sorrowfully revealed it to the King, how it came to his knowledge.†

On the thirteenth of November the Queen, with all her attendants, was summoned to the Great Chamber at Hampton Court by Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1333.

† *Ibid.*, No. 1331.

who charged the Queen and dismissed her household. Katherine Howard was then handed over to the guard and conducted to Sion, where she was committed to the charge of Lady Baynton, Jane Seymour's sister.

Culpeper and Dering were both examined under torture. Culpeper declared at his trial that he meant "to do ill with Lady Rochford," but although Lady Rochford had also been committed to the Tower, she could not be tried as she lost her reason three days after her arrest. Her whole career was a curious one. She had never been on friendly terms with her sister-in-law, Anne Boleyn, and she had been banished from Court on one occasion for showing deference to Princess Mary, whom Anne insisted was to be called a bastard and who was treated as such by her step-mother. Lady Rochford seems to have had little more affection for her husband than she had for her sister-in-law. At his trial she gave evidence against him as well as against Anne.*

CHAPUYS TO GRANVILLE. *December 3rd.*

The King has wonderfully felt the case of his wife, and has certainly shown greater sorrow at her loss than at the faults, love or divorce of his previous wives. It is like the case of the woman, who cried more bitterly at the loss of her eighth husband than at the death of all the others put together, though they had all been good men, but it was because she had never buried one of them before without being sure of the next, and as yet it does not seem that he has formed any new plan.†

MARILLAC TO KING FRANCIS. *December 7th.*

This King has changed his love for the Queen into hatred, and he has taken such grief at being betrayed by her that of late it was thought that he had gone mad, for he called for a sword to slay her he loved so much. Sitting in Council, he suddenly called for horses without saying where he would go. Sometimes, he will say

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1336.

† *Ibid.*, No. 1403.

irrelevantly, that the wicked woman had never such delight in her incontinency as she should have torture in her death, and finally he will shed tears, and blame his Council for this last mischief. The ministers have done their best to make him forget his grief, and he is gone twenty miles from here, with no company but musicians, and ministers of pastime.*

Oatlands was the place that Marillac refers to, but it seems curious that the King should have cared to go there just at this moment, as it was here that he had married Katherine Howard. In spite of his many failings, it is impossible not to feel a certain sympathy for Henry. He had been happy during his brief union with Jane Seymour, who was rather a colourless character from what is known about her; but of his other wives, Katherine Howard alone attempted to be a companion to him. It was largely this craving for a wife's companionship that had first drawn him to Anne Boleyn; but no sooner had Henry attained his ends, and married her, than he discovered that she was a shrew. The thought that several of his contemporaries, and notably his brother-in-law, Suffolk, were living on the happiest terms with young wives may well have added point to the King's grief. Although the Duke of Suffolk, according to Marillac, was one of the first members of the Privy Council to be summoned, the first meeting that he attended was on the twenty-ninth of November. He had probably been detained in Lincolnshire by illness. On account of his relationship to the Queen, Norfolk was exempted from taking any part in her trial; though his son Surrey, to show how little concern he felt for his cousin, ostentatiously paraded the streets of the city. Suffolk, Southampton, Hertford, and other members of the Privy Council were sent repeatedly to visit the several prisoners in their cells, in the attempt to extract all possible information from them. So many people

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1426.

had been accused of concealing the Queen's misconduct that there was not sufficient room in the ordinary prisons, and special arrangements had to be made for receiving them in the Royal "lodgings." Lord William Howard, the Queen's uncle, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all his goods, and a like fate would probably have overtaken the old Duchess of Norfolk had she not opportunely revealed the sum of eight hundred pounds to Wriothesley. The bill charging Katherine Howard was read a third time on the seventh of February, but before the royal assent was given Suffolk was entrusted with another pitiful mission: with Southampton he was sent to extort a confession from Katherine. What she confessed is not known, but it is recorded that she made two pleas: one being that her crime might not be visited upon her family; the other that the King would permit some of her dresses to be given to the women who had waited upon her during her captivity. On the eleventh of February the royal assent was given in Parliament, after which Suffolk and Southampton rose and disclosed the Queen's confession.

MARILLAC to KING FRANCIS. *February 15th, 1542.*

The Queen's execution was expected this week, for last night she was brought from Sion to the Tower, but as she weeps, cries, and torments herself without ceasing, it is deferred for two or three days to give her leisure to recover and "penser au faict de sa conscience."*

Southampton, the Lord High Admiral, and other members of the Privy Council, conveyed the Queen from Sion to the Tower in a small covered barge, and in their wake came a large barge filled with soldiers under the command of the Duke of Suffolk. But for some reason the Duke was not present on the scaffold on the day of Katherine's execution. The St. Omer headsman, who had beheaded Anne Boleyn, again officiated, and no

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1439.

sooner had he completed his task than the demented Lady Rochford was hurried to the block to share the fate of her mistress. Both bodies were buried in front of the altar of the Chapel of St. Peter's ad Vincula inside the Tower. Certain alterations to the chapel in the nineteenth century rendered necessary the removal of the bodies that had been buried there, and when they were re-interred, the remains of Lady Rochford were no longer allowed a place in the tragic group who lie before the altar, but were buried in the nave of the church.*

* The Duke of Monmouth is buried beneath the altar. Anne Boleyn, Lord Rochford, Katherine Howard, the Countess of Salisbury, Lord Guilford Dudley, Lady Jane Grey, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Norfolk are buried before the altar.

CHAPTER XV

Speculations regarding Katherine Howard's successor—Chapuis to the Emperor—Death of Lord Lisle—Letter from Chapuis—Anne of Cleves' readiness to return to Henry—Cranmer to the King—Chapuis to the King—Issue of seals—Warrant to Vaudernot—Suffolk made Warden of the Marches—Suffolk to Wriothesley—Death of Southampton—Depredations of the *Mary Willoughby*—Suffolk and others to the Council—Henry's projected invasion of Scotland—Correspondence on the subject with Suffolk—Wriothesley to Suffolk—Henry's marriage with Katherine Parr—A Catholic reaction—Henry's invasion of France—Capture of Boulogne—The King's return to England—Jean Albeige.

A ROYAL marriage always occasions much excitement, and in this respect, at all events, Henry VIII's subjects were very much spoilt. While Katherine Howard's head was still on her shoulders, speculation was already rife as to who was to be her successor.

CHAPUIS to the EMPEROR. *February 9th, 1542.*

Until this time, the King has never, since he detected the Queen's conduct, shown joy as he had done since, especially on the twenty-ninth of January, when he gave a banquet and a supper to the ladies, twenty of whom were at his table with certain Lords, and thirty-five at an adjoining table. She to whom for the time, he showed most favour and affection, was a sister of Lord Cobham's and of the wife whom Mr. Huyet repudiated for adultery. She is a beautiful girl with wit enough if she tried, to do as badly as the others. It is also said the King has a fancy for the daughter of Madame Albert, niece of the Grand Esquire, Mr. Anthony Browne. Likewise there is bruited of the King having a fancy for the daughter of the wife of Monsieur Lisle, formerly Deputy of Calais, by her first marriage, and this is

presumed because the said Deputy has been nearly two years, in close confinement at the Tower, and now goes at liberty within it, and his arms, which were removed from the Chapter of the Order, are ordered to be restored.*

It was perhaps a passing fancy for Anne Bassett, or possibly a fit of compunction that caused Henry to send his secretary to the Tower, to announce to Lord Lisle that he was restored to liberty and favour. Unfortunately, however, this sudden reversal of fortune had a fatal effect on Lord Lisle. He had a sudden seizure and died the same night.

CHAPUYS to —. *February 25th.*

The King has been in better spirits since the Queen's execution, and during the last three days before Lent, there was much feasting. Sunday was devoted to the Lords of the Council and courtiers, Monday to the men of the law, and Tuesday to the Ladies, who all slept at Court. The King himself did nothing but go from room to room, ordering and arranging the lodgings to be prepared for these ladies, and he made them great and hearty cheer, without showing special affection for any particular one. Indeed, unless Parliament prays him to take a wife, he will not be in a hurry to do so, I think. Besides there are few, if any ladies now at Court, who would aspire to such an honour; for by a new Act just passed, any Lady that the King may marry, if she be a subject, is bound, on pain of death, to declare any charge of misconduct, that can be brought against her, and all who know, or suspect anything against her, must declare it within twenty days, on pain of perpetual imprisonment and confiscation.†

But in spite of these threatened penalties, and the fate that had attended two of his wives, Anne of Cleves was only too ready to become Henry's wife again, and Cranmer writes to the King :

The Ambassador of Cleves had brought me letters from Oslynger, the Chamberlain of the Duke of Cleves,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, Ap. No. 6.

† *Ibid.*, No. 124.

commending the cause of the Lady Anne. The Ambassador would have reasoned the matter so as to grope my mind, but I cut him short, saying that the matter was too important for me to discuss without a command from your Highness. I would be glad to have instructions how to answer.*

King Francis was very anxious that Henry should take back Anne, for he himself was now on bad terms with Charles V, and he wished to see Henry reconciled with the Protestant princes of Germany so that they might make common cause against the Emperor. But Chapuys was able to reassure the latter :

As to preventing the marriage and reconciliation with her of Cleves, there is no likelihood of the King marrying her or any other, unless to amuse himself with company, as he has always been nurtured among ladies. Since he heard of his late wife's conduct, he has not been the same man, and I have always found him pensive, and sighing.

And in this same letter Chapuys goes on to say :

This Parliament has decreed that lords and rich men, according to their power, Churchmen not excepted, shall keep great horses [Flemish horses], but nothing else of importance has been passed. I had written, that from the harangue made in Parliament that this King would ask another aid from the people, but perhaps, doubting murmur, he has, in lieu of it, made a loan from the rich, which will produce an inestimable amount. First on the roll are the two Dukes, each for six thousand Ducats, although they are both scant of money.

This reference to the poverty of the two Dukes gave Chapuys an opening of which he took prompt advantage :

I myself beg compassion upon my own necessities.†

On June the twenty-fourth, 1543, Thomas Holmes, servant and secretary to the Duke of Suffolk, acknow-

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1449.

† *Ibid.*, No. 235.

ledges the receipt of sixty privy seals from the Lord Chancellor, for the advancement of the loan.*

The next warrant is dated the previous month :

John Vandernot, denizen, native of the Emperor's dominions, physician and surgeon, sworn unto the Duke of Suffolk, free of the County of Surrey in London. Licence, solely or jointly, with other expert persons, to practise the arts and sciences of physic and surgery, both within the liberties of London, and other privileged places, and elsewhere in England ; and discharge for any penalties incurred by practising heretofore, and from being empanelled upon inquests and juries.†

27 Henry VIII. del. Westminster.

This summer the Duke of Suffolk was sent to view the works at Calais, and there were rumours that the Duke's mission might have a more important object as Henry was now contemplating war with France. Chapuys was inclined to discount these rumours on the score of the Duke's age and the state of his health. However, notwithstanding these disabilities, Suffolk was appointed Warden of the Marches on his return to England. Before embroiling himself with France Henry was anxious to make certain of Scotland, and Norfolk had orders to harry the borders, while Suffolk was to victual Norfolk's army from his headquarters at Newcastle or Alnwick.

SUFFOLK to the LORD CHANCELLOR [WRIOTHESLEY]. *October 17th.*

I desire to have five hundred of my men in wages, for I would be loth to venture myself among the borderers without a good number of my inland men about me. I beg to know the King's pleasure therein, and the order to be taken for their pay. I thought to have three thousand borderers to serve without wages, but I now find that they are not bound to serve except for invasions of Scotland for twenty-four hours and in keeping their own borders. My leg is much amended so that I trust to be able to ride and go in five or six days.‡

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, No. 13.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 623.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 957.

On this march into Scotland the Earl of Southampton died, but all through the campaign his banner was carried in the van of the English army, so great was the esteem in which he was held. The Earl left no children. His mother, a sister of Suffolk's first wife, Lady Margaret Mortimer, married Sir Anthony Browne as her second husband, and their daughter Anne was Suffolk's second wife. The title of Southampton was afterwards given to Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor.

During this campaign there are repeated references to the *Mary Willoughby*, the ship that had been named after Lady Willoughby, which had now fallen into the hands of the Scots.

SUFFOLK and TURNSTALL, BISHOP OF DURHAM, to COUNCIL.

October 16th.

John Barton has three ships ready, the *Mary Willoughby*, the *Lion* and another, prepared at the cost of the burgesses of Edinburgh, nominally to make war against the Portugales, but really to make prey of Englishmen, to recompense their losses. We have an espial,* called John Moore, surgeon, a Scottish man, who has long dwelt in England, whose letters of news we have lately sent on to the Council.†

In spite of the harrying of the border, Sir Ralph Sadler was still acting as English Ambassador, as there were still so many parties in Scotland, and, writing from Edinburgh, he says that Barton had long intended to venture to Bordeaux with his ships to fetch wine, and that the ships, which were half merchants and half men-of-war, had been so long laden that they must venture or the goods would perish.‡ A week later Sadler again refers to this matter when writing to the Council :

John Barton will not sail without safe conduct from the King, and he and some other merchants have

* Among the Duke of Suffolk's Border expenses is £20 for "spial" money. *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 212.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 281.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 283.

approached me on the subject. If the King appoints ships of war to lie on the Scotch coast, to prevent Scotch ships from leaving harbour, it must inevitably ruin the town of Leith.*

In spite of John Barton's assurances, the suspicions of Suffolk and the Bishop seem to have been well founded, for on the third of February 1544 they write :

Yesterday, Bryan with the six Newcastle ships, left Tynemouth haven at noon, the wind being at W.S.W., for Holy Island for their ordinance ; but as they were leaving, news came from Lord Lisle,† that twenty-one great ships were seen off Holy Island, which kept in the billows of the sea, and plyed northwards. Supposing that this was the Duke of Guise with a great power, and knowing that Bryan's [Sir Francis] ships were slenderly furnished, we sent him word of them, and advised him to draw off towards the Humber to the rest of his company, to accomplish the feat which Ryvely would declare to him. To-day, came a letter from Lord Lisle (enclosed), showing that the twenty-one sail are the *Mary Willoughby* and *Salamander* with nineteen English prizes.‡

signed, Suffolk, Durham, Parr and Sadler.

LISLE to SUFFOLK. *February 2nd, 1544.*

An espial has just brought word that the *Mary Willoughby*§ and the *Salamander* are come home with nineteen sail of English prizes, and dare not come to Leith for fear of Angus but will go to St. Andrews.||

It was the King's intention to invade Scotland this spring, in person, and he exchanged several letters with Suffolk on the subject.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 302.

† Sir John Dudley, now Lord High Admiral, had succeeded his stepfather, Lord Lisle.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 108.

§ The *Willoughby* is mentioned in 1563 as being one of Queen Elizabeth's ships. *Salisbury MSS.*, Vol. I, No. 943.

|| *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, p. 1, No. 104.

THE KING to SUFFOLK. *January 12th, 1544.*

I have seen your letter to the Council, continuing your wise discourse for an invasion of Scotland with twenty thousand men, at the latter end of May. I like it well, save that you have omitted to say how many of the twenty thousand men should be horsemen. As I intend to invade France this year, the invasion of Scotland should be about March. In May, there will be little grass, but in March, all last year's provision will remain. I have determined to revoke you thence, so that you may pass with me into France, and to send Hertford to the Border in your place ; but in recompense of your past travail, I would give you the honour of this enterprise, if it seems feasible. If, however, you cannot both conduct this enterprise, and prepare yourself to attend me, Hertford shall be sent so that you may instruct and "nosill" him both for the enterprise, and other things. You are to keep this letter secret, and to notify what shire the men are to be levied in.*

In his reply, Suffolk states that it would be impossible to furnish necessities either for an army for France or for Scotland in so short a space of time.

Even if bread, drink, and grain might be purveyed, the carriages, which must be five hundred at least, each to carry a ton, are not to be had in this country, and must be purveyed where the great oxen, and wains be.

He then advances other objections, but concludes by saying :

I have thus declared my mind, but if your Highness and the Council think it may be done, I will do my best to set it forward.†

Writing on February 28, from Darnton, the Duke says :

I think the invasion by land far better to bring to pass your Highness's Godly and noble purpose, and to

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1, No. 71.

† *Ibid.*, No. 83.

abate the Scots' proud heart. Also to cause your friends, if you have any to show themselves, than an invasion by sea. A sea force could not take Edinburgh, and if the invasion by land is resolved upon, the King should remember to appoint some wise men of experience to counsel Hertford, for the Scots are strange men to meddle with and little to be trusted, and Hertford must take hostages for the performance of their promises.*

The Duchess did not accompany her husband to the North, and on the sixteenth of July 1543 Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, writes to the Duke :

Please it your Grace, the same shall herewith receive a letter from my Lady, your wife, which I, because I know not what haste it required, I thought meet to dispatch it unto you. I doubt not but that your Grace kneweth by the same and otherwise, that the King's Majesty was married on Thursday last to my Lady Latimer, a woman, in my judgment, for virtue, wisdom and gentleness, most meet for His Highness, and sure I am that His Highness had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. Our Lord send them joy, and long life together.†

Henry VIII was Katherine Parr's third husband. She was born in 1512 ; her first husband was Sir Edward Burgh, son of Thomas, first Lord Burgh. On his death, she married Lord Latimer,‡ an elderly widower, with children. Lord Latimer died early in 1543, and by the month of June it was an open secret at Court that his widow was destined to become the sixth wife of the King. They were married in the Queen's apartments at Hampton Court on the twelfth of July. Among the few people who were present at the ceremony was the Duchess of Suffolk. According to Collins's *Peerage*, Dorothy Willoughby, the Duchess's aunt, had been married to a Lord Latimer,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1, No. 136.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1, No. 894.

‡ Sir John Nevill, third Baron Latimer, with Lords Lumley, Scrope, and Darcy, was deputed by the insurgents during the Pilgrimage of Grace, to treat with the Duke of Norfolk.

and Katherine Parr and the Duchess were evidently great friends, whether there was any connection between their families or not.

Lord Latimer had identified himself with the people at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and up to the time of her marriage with the King, Katherine had been a strict Catholic ; but now, having become interested in the New Learning, she was brought into touch with the Protestant party. A Catholic reaction had just set in, and the Six Articles were being enforced with great severity. The Great Bible had been withdrawn from the churches, and only people above a certain rank were permitted to read the Bible.

In the spring of 1544 the King, in alliance with the Emperor, declared war upon France. The City of London was required to furnish five hundred men for the army, their expenses being born by the different guilds, and Suffolk, who had now relinquished his command on the border, writes from Lincolnshire :

With three hundred of my Lincolnshire tenants, able men, and fit to serve, and with my household servants, I can make a hundred horsemen with demi lances and javelins, either upon good horses, or good geldings, one hundred archers and three hundred billmen.

On the arrival of the English army in France, Norfolk was sent to besiege Montreuil, while Suffolk with the King besieged Boulogne. On the fourteenth of September Boulogne capitulated and the keys of the town were handed to Suffolk. The capitulation aroused much indignation in France against the governor, Jacques de Coucy. He was arrested and executed, but the capture of the town did not bring much advantage to the English. The campaign had proved excessively costly, and although the Emperor had succeeded in taking St. Dizier, he had found himself so hemmed in by the French that he had been obliged to conclude a separate peace.

After the capture of Boulogne the King returned to England, but the Duke of Suffolk and some of the Council remained on in France. In their correspondence, a Frenchman named Jean Albeige is mentioned. The Duke was anxious to take this man into his service, to wait upon his children. He had been patronized for his learning by the Queen of Navarre, but being poor, had been induced to carry a cipher letter from the French King to Henry VIII. He was provided with new shoes, the letter was sewn in between the soles, and he was told that on his arrival at the English court he was to act as a spy. When he came within sight of Calais he sent back his horse with the soldiers who had conducted him thus far, and, in his own words, he then went into "myrery plasche therby, and spotted himself with myre to seem that he had escaped on foote." However, notwithstanding these precautions, Albeige was arrested; he escaped and was re-arrested, and the Council were so much impressed by him that they interceded for him. Suffolk writes :

Considering that by his wit and learning, he might do good service, I asked him if he could find it in his heart to become English. He replied that if he might follow his book, and be honestly entertained, he could; that he would sooner die than waste his time in prison.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIX, p. 2, No. 604.

CHAPTER XVI

Settlement of the succession—Raising of a new loan—Richard Rede—Appearance of a French fleet in the Channel—Loss of the *Marie Rose*—Suffolk to Paget—French descent on the Isle of Wight—Letter from Cardinal Farnese—Suffolk joins the King at Petworth—Removal of the King and Council to Guildford—Departure of the French fleet—Removal of the King and Council to Woking—Suffolk's death at Guildford—Paget to Norfolk—Estimate of the Duke's character—His Will—His chaplain Seaton—The Duke's burial—His illegitimate descendants—Richard Brandon Charles I's reputed executioner.

DURING the year 1544 the King demanded that the question of the succession should be dealt with. He was well aware that he could depend on Parliament to settle the matter in strict accordance with his wishes, and it was laid down that after his own children the Crown should pass to the descendants of Mary Tudor, to the exclusion of the Stuarts.

By the spring of 1545 the King's Exchequer was so low that another loan had to be raised. The Duke of Norfolk was still in France, but the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and other members of the Privy Council, sat at Baynard's Castle,* where the citizens of London, beginning with the Lord Mayor, were cited to appear before them, to be assessed. Richard Rede, one of the Aldermen, refused to pay the sum that was demanded of him. The King could not imprison him, but he could force him to serve as a soldier, so Rede was sent to the Border, and Sir Ralph Eure, the English commander,

* This was the second Baynard's Castle, built in 1428 by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

was given express orders that he was to be subjected to all the rigours of the service, in order that he might appreciate all that soldiers had to suffer, and be the more ready to serve the King in future. The Battle of Ancrum Moor took place almost immediately after Rede's arrival; a thousand Englishmen, including Eure and Latoun, the two commanders, were slain, and Rede was among the prisoners. The heavy ransom that he was called upon to pay, must have made him bitterly regret that he had refused to contribute to the King's "benevolence."

This summer there was great consternation in England over the arrival of a French fleet in the English Channel.

PRIVY COUNCIL, GREENWICH. *May 30th, 1545.*

Devised that the Duke of Suffolk should attend the King with the shires hereabouts, the Lord Privy Seal with the western men, & the Duke of Norfolk with the northern men, & those parts to whom letters were addressed for his repair to court.*

During part of July, the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk were at Rochester, whence they wrote the following joint letter to Lord Cobham,† who was now Deputy of Calais:

SUFFOLK to COBHAM. *July 19th, 1545.*

I thank you for your letter from Calais, and the quails received this morning. For answer to your request to know in what part of Kent I intend to remain, I know not, but that I will demore in this town, but wheresoever I shall be I will let you know. I am very much beholden to your bedfellow for good cheer.

fr. Rochester.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 1, No. 833.

† George Broke, Lord Cobham of Coolings, Kent, married Anne, eldest daughter of Edmund Lord Braye.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO LORD COBHAM.

MY LORD,

With my harte thanks for yo^r gentle remembrans,
I likiwys mayk to you my harte commendesens.

Yo^r pouer frend,

KATHERINE SUFFOLK.*

On the day that this letter was written, news was brought that the French fleet had been sighted in the Solent. The King had been dining on the flag-ship at Portsmouth. He disembarked, but there was not sufficient wind to enable the English ships to leave the harbour. In calm weather, the oar-rowed galleys of the French had all the advantage; the English suffered a great disaster, one of their largest ships, the *Marie Rose*, foundered and sank with all hands. Sir Bevil Granville, father of Sir Richard Granville, of the *Revenge*, was one of the crew. At first, hopes were entertained that the *Marie Rose* might be raised, and the Duke of Suffolk was sent for from Kent to assist Lord Lisle, who was still Lord High Admiral, in the salvage operation.

SUFFOLK TO PAGET. *August 1st.*

I perceive by your letter received this afternoon, that the King marvels at the lack of tools. Shovels & spades were had from London, but no mattocks, without which, these works cannot be done in the ground. I have put mattocks to the making in Winchester, Southampton, & other places, & I shall have a good number by Monday. I trust soon to put this town in order to defy the enemies. Those who have undertaken to recover the *Marie Rose*, desire the necessaries mentioned in the schedule.

A remembrance of things necessary for the recovery with the help of God, of the *Marie Rose*.

First, two of the greatest hulks, that may be gotten, more, the hulk, that rideth within the haven, four of the greatest buoys within the haven, five of the greatest

* Lodge's *Illustrated Personages of Great Britain*, Vol. I, p. 7.

cables that may be had, etc. Thirty Venetian mariners, & one Venetian carpenter. Item. Symond, patron & master of the Foyst, doth agree that all things must be had for the purpose aforesaid.*

But in spite of all these expedients, the attempts to raise the *Marie Rose* proved unavailing, and the English fleet was seriously weakened in detailing two of the largest ships to help in the salvage operations. The impossibility of sending supplies to Boulogne was a serious matter, but fortunately for them the greater proportion of the inhabitants of England were blissfully ignorant of the dangers that threatened the country :

From the eighteenth of Julie till the twenty third daie of August, the Frenche Kinges navie, & galleis rowed upp & downe the narrow seas, so that no passage [boat] came from Bulley & Calis but by stelth & in the night, for the weether was so calme that there was no wynde blowing.†

The French did effect a landing in the Isle of Wight, and, according to Cardinal Farnese, the women of the island bore themselves most valiantly.

The Cardinal writes :

In the Isle of Wight certain women fought & shot their arrows so swiftly that they did incredible hurt, & they ran like hares, & this, because they hold these men here [the French], in no estimation, & every Englishman boasts that he can fight three Frenchmen.‡

It may have been the behaviour of the women that alarmed the French ; at all events, they contented themselves with burning some buildings and then embarked again.

The English, as usual, were very much hampered by lack of funds. Suffolk and Lisle were sorely in want of

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 1.

† *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 160.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIX, p. 2, No. 552.

money at Portsmouth, and to add to their difficulties many of their men became ill. On the seventh of August the Duke was ordered to hand over his command to Lord St. John, the Lord Chamberlain, and to join the King at Petworth. Meetings of the Privy Council were held there each day. It had been arranged in July that Surrey should be sent to relieve Boulogne, where the governor, Lord Poynings, was in great straits. Now, however, more ambitious plans were formed; the Duke of Suffolk was to command the expedition, and a body of German mercenaries was to be raised to march through France, and create a diversion. On the eighteenth of August, the day that the news arrived of the capture of the Isle of Wight, the King moved from Petworth to Guildford Place, which he had given to his brother-in-law, Sir William Parr. The Council met here on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of August, when, on the receipt of the welcome news that the French fleet had returned to harbour, the King moved to Woking. Suffolk attended the last meeting of the Council at Guildford, and must then have been suddenly taken ill. It is stated that he was unable to accompany the Council in welcoming Scepperus and Van der Delft, the Emperor's envoys, on their arrival in England. His illness was a brief one. On the twenty-third of August the Council wrote to Hertford, in Scotland:

We pray you to pray with us for my Lord of Suffolk, who died yesterday at four o'clock.

fr. Woking.*

The Duke's death was announced while the Council was sitting, and the King was greatly moved. He said that during the whole course of their friendship the Duke had never made an attempt to injure an adversary, nor had he ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of any one, and looking round the Council table the King added:

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 197.

"Is there any of you, my Lords, who can say as much?" *

PAGET to NORFOLK. *August 25th.*

It may like your Grace to be advertised that I have received your letters. My Lord of Suffolk, who was appointed Lieutenant to levy the siege before Boulogne (my Lord of Surrey having the vanguard, & my Lord Marquis of Dorset having the rearguard, my Lord of Arundel, Master of the Camp), died this last Saturday afternoon, & my Lord Marquis [Dorset], & my Lord of Arundel are discharged.†

The serious nature of the Duke's illness must have been quickly realized, for the Duchess was present at his death-bed, and also his two daughters, the Marchioness of Dorset and Lady Eleanor Clifford.

Eulogies of people after they are dead must always be accepted with caution, and Henry VIII's tribute to his brother-in-law inevitably recalls Suffolk's base ingratitude to Wolsey. He attributed the failure of the French expedition of 1523 to Wolsey's want of support, and from that time became his bitter foe. An episode at the close of the divorce proceedings increased his enmity. After Cardinal Campeggio had adjourned the court, Suffolk's taunt that now he saw that the "old-said saw was true that there was never legate nor cardinal that did good in England," drew from Wolsey the retort :

Sir, of all men in this realm, ye had least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals ; for if I, simple cardinal had not been, you should have had, at the present time, no head upon your shoulders.‡

A rebuke which may well have rankled. Apart, though, from his behaviour to Wolsey, Suffolk seems to have been staunch in his friendships. We even find him championing the cause of Lady Margaret Mortimer, his

* E. Holt, *Light in the Darkness*, Quotation, p. 193

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 209.

‡ Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 232.

first wife, in a sordid dispute over money with a daughter of hers by a former marriage.*

Inscribed on the Duke's portrait at Woburn are these words :

Gratiose with Henry VIII, Voide of Despyte, Most fortunate to the end. Never in displeasure with the King.

Suffolk was typically English. He loved feats of prowess, he was shrewd and practical, and although his incompetence as a general during the campaign of 1523 has always been insisted on, little or no allowance has been made for the difficulties he had to contend with. He left a high reputation behind him with his own countrymen, for in a paper entitled " A Discussion of the Weighty Matter of Scotland," written thirty years after his death, is the passage :

Furthermore, England is void of such generals as the old Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, & the last Duke of Northumberland." †

And there is a genuine ring about the two following contemporary tributes, the first of which was written by Thomas Wilson in his " Arte of Rhetorique."

The Duke was in such service that all England, at this houre, doth find his lacke ; & France yet doth feel that such a Duke there was, whom in his lifetime the Godly loved, the evil feared, the wise men honoured for his witte, & the simple used alwaies for their counsaile.

In August died Charles, the noble & valiant Duke of Suffolk, a hardy gentleman, & yet not so hard as almost of all estates & degrees of menne hyghe & low, ryche & poore, heartily beloved, & his deathe of them much lamented.

The Duke's will is dated the twenty-fourth of August, 1544, so he must have made it during the Boulogne expedition.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 1, No. 736.

† *Cal. Eliz. Dom. S. P.* 1558-9, Vol. 22, No. 1300 (59).

First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God the Father, the Sonne and the Holie Gooste, three personnes and one God, who hath redeemed the same by the merites of His Passion ; and my bodie to be buried in the Colledge Church of Tatteshall, in the countie of Lincoln. Yf it so conveniently may be, without any pomp or outward pryde of the worlde, and that certain masses and dirges be done for me by all the prestes of the same Colledge and other of my chaplains onely, according to the auncient and laudable custome of the Church of England, by the descrescion of myn executors ; and I will that no blacke gownes, or cotes be given for me, but onely to my ser-vauntes and others that be torche bearers at the tyme of my buriall. And I will that immediately after my deathe, myn executors pay my debts to all and every person and personnes to whom I have done any injuries or wronges.

I will that immediately after my decease, £100 be given to the poorest householders, being my tenauntes and others dwelling next unto my houses of Tattershall, Eresby, Hellow and Grymsthorpe, in the countie of Lincoln, by the discrecion of myn executours, or the more part of them, to th' intent to pray for my soule. And I will and freelie gyve to the Kinges highnes, a cuppe of golde of the value of one hunderth poundes, and the same cupp to be made of my collar of the Garter. And I give and bequeth to my Lorde Prince Edward, one cuppe of golde of the value of one hunderth markes.

Then come bequests of plate and jewels to the Duchess and his two daughters, the Marchioness of Dorset and Lady Eleanor Clifford.

All the residue of my quyck catall, whatsoever it be, excepte the saied sheep so graunted and gyven to my saied wif, and also excepte suche of my horses, geldings and mares that shall be mete, necessarye and convenient for my saied wif and Henry my sonne, shalbe and go to the performaunce of this my last will and testament

Lady Mounteagle died in 1544, but his other daughter, Lady Powis, is not mentioned at all in the Duke's will.

To his grandson, William Stanley, who succeeded his father as Lord Mounteagle in 1560, the Duke bequeathes the marriage of Mrs. Anne Howard,* daughter of Lord William Howard, his late wife being one of the heyres of John Broughton Esquier, and I also give to the saied William Stanley, his own marriage, the which I bought of the saied Lord Mounteagle, his father, and also I give to the saied William Stanley the yerely rentes of his possessions in the county of Lancaster to the value of £100 sterling, which I have during the nonage of the saied William Stanley by bargayne, sale and graunt of the saied Lord Mounteagle.

Also I give and graunt to my sonne Charles, the custody and marriage of Agnes Woodall, daughter and heir of Anthony Woodall Esquier, deceased, the which I bought of Sir Anthony Browne K.G., together also with a yearly rent of £20, which is for the keeping and custody of the saied Agnes, during her minoritie.

A list of certain properties that he owned, follows, one of the properties mentioned being "my house at Charinge Crosse without the Citie of London." The Duke wills that the sum of eight hundred marks shall be taken from the money that these possessions bring in, and employed in the purchase of lands for his second son Charles, "or elles otherwise in byeing or obteyning one gentilwoman having landes and tenementes of inheritance unto my saied sonne Charles."

The Duchess was to have the use of Tattershall "with the Chayce, Park and membres of the same," but the Duke desires that his other Manors should be held by the King. He appoints his wife, the Lord Chancellor, Lord St. John, and Sir Anthony Browne as his executors :

And the Kynges Highnes the supervisour of my saied Will, whose most benigne Majestie I most humbly beseeche that it will please His Highnes of abundant

* Anne Howard did not marry Lord Mounteagle. She became the wife of William Paulet, 3rd Marquis of Winchester.

goodness not onely t' accept, and take upon hym the same, but also, that, as by His Highnes' service, and most bountiful liberalitey and preferment, I have been and remayn advaunced to that estate I presently am of, yt will also likewise stand with His Majestie's further pleasure t' extende and continue His Highnes' accustomed goodnes towards my saied entirely beloved wife the Lady Katheryne aforesaid, as also the 'onest bringing upp of my sonnes in lernyng and other vertuose educacion, and most especially of my eldest sonne, whereby he may the rather atteyn to be able so to serve his most excellent Majestie.*

The Duke's desire for masses for the repose of his soul to be said according to the ancient and laudable custom of the Church of England is interesting in view of the fact that one of his chaplains had previously been confessor of James V, and he had been obliged to flee from Scotland for preaching the reformed doctrines. Most probably, it was this chaplain, Seaton, who first converted the Duchess to the faith of which she was to become so staunch an adherent. Seaton died in 1542. The previous year he had been required by the Bishop of London to read a recantation in church of the doctrines he had been preaching,† but he remained the Duke's chaplain up to the time of his death.

The Duke's wish to be buried without pomp at Tattershall was not observed. In accordance with the King's commands, he was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the expenses of the funeral being borne by the King, while requiem masses were said at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral. The Duke is commemorated by a marble slab bearing his name and arms, near the south door of the choir in St. George's Chapel.

He left an illegitimate son, Charles Brandon, who was knighted at the Siege of Boulogne. Sir Charles Brandon

* *Wills from Doctors Commons*. Camden Society.

† *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 132.

had an illegitimate son, Gregory Brandon, a celebrated jeweller in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose son, Richard, was the executioner of Charles I. Against the entry of Richard Brandon's burial in the registry of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, is written the following :

This Richard Brandon received thirty pounds for the job, which was paid in half-crowns within an hour after the execution had taken place ; he took an orange stuck with cloves, and a handkerchief from the King's pocket, and sold the former article to a gentleman for ten shillings.

CHAPTER XVII

Involved condition of the Duke's affairs—Dymock to Wriothesley—The Duchess's position at Court—Van der Delft's gossip—The King of Poland a possible suitor for the Duchess—Anne Askew—Her account of her sufferings—Her death—Proclamation regarding forbidden books—Adherence of many courtiers, including the Duchess of Suffolk, to the reformed doctrines—Van der Delft to the King—Execution of Surrey and imprisonment of Norfolk—Death of Henry VIII—Coronation of Edward VI—Wardship of her son granted to the Duchess of Suffolk.

UP to this time it has only been possible to describe the incidents and scenes amongst which the young Duchess moved, for nothing is recorded of her during the lifetime of her first husband that singles her out for special notice. But after the Duke's death, she at once became a personage. She was only twenty-six when she was left a widow, and the many affairs that now demanded her attention must have been a severe test of character. The Duke seems always to have been short of money, and as many of his allowances ceased with his death, it cannot have been easy to meet the demands of his creditors. To add to the Duchess's difficulties, the debasement of the coinage started this year. The Duke's debt to the King was one of the most pressing claims, and this was finally commuted at four thousand pounds.

In October 1545 John Dymock, who had been helping to collect two thousand mercenaries for the relief of Boulogne, and who seems to have acted as an agent for the Duke, writes to Wriothesley, one of the Duke's executors :

My Lord (Suffolk) commissioned me to sell him in Flanders one hundred and forty fadders of lead, and I

desired him to deliver it in Antwerp with all speed, and he should have a third of the price in three weeks, and the whole in three months. The whole was sold at ten florin the "waage" which is almost sixteen nobles the fodder, and the cause that his Grace has not been paid is, that he has not sent the full amount of the lead, and the merchant insists upon the bargain as I wrote unto his Grace before going into Estlands, by letter dated July the tenth. The merchant will not pay unless he have the full amount for he has put in security the "Wesher" for the payment thereof.*

The Low Countries were now receiving a large share of the silver that was coming from the New World, and Antwerp had become the chief mart in Europe. The Fuggers and the Welsers, originally of Augsburg and then of Antwerp, were a new class of capitalists. The Jews and Lombards had been bankers or money-lenders, but the Fuggers and the Welsers used capital productively, as they bought raw material for the manufacture of goods, and ships for their transport. Lead was one of these commodities, and so much was now being exported from England that regulations for its export had to be considered.

At the end of his letter, Dymock writes :

My Lord's Grace owes a great deal of money as I will show at my coming.

But in spite of the debts that her husband had left, the Duchess still continued to maintain an enormous household. In May 1546 she was granted a licence to retain forty persons in her livery besides household servants. She was now the only Duchess at Court, and therefore took rank immediately after the blood royal. The first reference to the Duchess after the death of her husband is at the christening of one of Lord Lisle's children ; as the Duchess gave the party three months after the Duke's death, either at Suffolk House or the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, 598.

Barbican, it is clear that mourning at this time did not entail such strict seclusion as it came to do in later years.

A certain John Wilkins writes to Lord Cobham, who was still Deputy of Calais :

I was with Mrs. Elizabeth at Court on Thursday last, and talked with her but a while because the other of the Queen's maids, waited upon my Lady Mary to my Lady of Suffolk's house to the christening of the Lord Admiral's child.*

Van der Delft, the Emperor's Ambassador, had been asked to be godfather, while the two godmothers were Princess Mary and the Duchess of Suffolk. In view of their subsequent enmity, it is interesting to find this entry in the privy purse expenses of Princess Mary :

Delivered by Lady's Grace to play at cards with my Lady of Suffolk, 25/7.

In the Order for the King's Court for the year 1546 the Queen's Ordinary has the following names : " The Lady Mary's Grace, the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, the Ladies Margaret [Douglas], Frances [Marchioness of Dorset], Eleanor [Lady Eleanor Clifford], the Ladies Suffolk and Arundel." † From this it appears that Lady Margaret Douglas still took precedence of her Brandon cousins, in spite of the Act of Succession which had been passed in 1544.

In February 1546, only a little over six months after the Duke of Suffolk's death, Van der Delft writes to the Emperor :

I hesitate to report there are rumours of a new Queen. Some attribute it to the sterility of the present Queen, while others say that there will be no change during the present war. Madame Suffolk is much talked about, and is in great favour ; but the King shows no alteration in his behaviour to the Queen. I can discover nothing

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 598.

† Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, p. 69.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 289.

about the Polish Ambassador. It is publicly asserted that he has come about a marriage for his master with Lady Mary, whom the Queen has twitted about it. The King knighted the Ambassador, and placed a golden collar round his neck." *

There has always been a tradition that the King of Poland wished to marry the Duchess of Suffolk, and it seems quite possible that the Polish Ambassador tried for the Duchess when he was unsuccessful in obtaining Mary Tudor as a wife for his master. Sigismund II, Augustus, was now a widower for the second time. His first wife had been a daughter of the German Emperor, and after her death he secretly married Barbara Radziwill. When he finally acknowledged this marriage, Sigismund had some difficulty in prevailing upon the Polish nobility to recognize Barbara; though he managed to carry his point, and though Barbara was crowned, she only survived her coronation six months, and there were strong suspicions that she might have been poisoned by Barbara Sforza,† her mother-in-law.

Van der Delft's hint that the Duchess of Suffolk might become the seventh wife of Henry VIII can only have been malicious gossip, as up to the time of the Queen's death she and the Duchess remained close friends. A far greater danger threatened the Queen this summer. A plot was formed by Gardiner and Wriothesley of which Anne Askew was the victim, in which Katherine Parr only narrowly escaped being implicated. Anne was the daughter of the Sir William Askew who took part in the Lincolnshire Rebellion; as a girl of fifteen, she had been married to Thomas Kyme, a neighbouring Lincolnshire squire, but after a few years her husband repudiated her on the score that she was perpetually "gadding up and down the country, a gospelling and a gossiping" instead of looking after her children. For a

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 289.

† Daughter of the Duke of Milan.

time Anne gave expositions of the New Testament in Lincoln Cathedral until ejected by the Dean and Chapter ; then, coming to London, she took lodgings near the Temple. Here her outspoken Protestantism soon led to her arrest. She was not imprisoned for long, and on her release an interview with the Queen was arranged for her, through the instrumentality, it is said, of the Duchess of Suffolk. At this interview Anne presented the Queen and her ladies with copies of Tyndale's New Testament and some tracts with arguments against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. As the Six Articles were now being enforced with great severity, Anne was arrested when these books were found in the Queen's closet. Not only was she the first person to be tortured in England for conscience' sake ; she is also, one is glad to think, the only woman that was ever tortured in this country.

What she endured is best told in her own words :

June 29, 1546. I was sent from Newgate to the Tower.

Mr. Rich, one of the Council, came to me there, charging me upon my obedience, to show if I knew any man or woman of my sect. I answered that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady Suffolk, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denney, and my Lady Fitzwilliam. I answered them that if I should pronounce anything against them, I could not prove it. Then they said that the King was informed that I could name if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered that the King was as well deceived in that behalf as he was dissembled with in other matters. Then they bade me show how I was maintained at the Comptor,* and who willed me to stick to my opinions. I said that there was no creature that did strengthen me, and as for the help I had in the Comptor, it was by means of my maid, who, as she went abroad in the street, made moan to the prentices, and that they, by her, did send the money, but who they were I never knew. Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that sent me money, but I

* A prison in Bread Street.

knew not their names. I answered that there was a servant in a blue coat, who delivered me ten shillings, and said my Lady of Hertford had sent it to me ; and another in a velvet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denney had sent it me ; whether it be true or no I cannot tell, for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did tell. Then they said there were some of the Council, who did maintain me, and I said, " No." Then they put me on the rack because I confessed no ladies and gentlemen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time ; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor [Wriothesley], and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was well nigh dead. Then the Lieutenant caused me to be loosened from the rack, and incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that, I sat two long, hours, reasoning with the Lord Chancellor, upon the bare floor, where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinions. But my Lord God, (I thank His Everlasting Goodness), gave me grace to persevere, and I will do, I hope, to the end. Then I was brought to a house and laid on a bed with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, and I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my Lord Chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing, if I would not, I should go forthwith to Newgate, and so to burn. I sent him again word that I would rather die than break my faith. Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell dear friends, and Pray, Pray, Pray.*

Anne Askew was burnt at Smithfield. Her limbs had been so injured on the rack that she had to be carried to the stake on a chair. John Lascelles, one of the King's gentlemen, was also burnt on the same day for his Protestant principles ; it is generally supposed that he was the John Lascelles who had first brought to Cranmer's notice the stories about Katherine Howard. The victims had been supplied with so much gunpowder by their friends, to shorten their tortures, that the Privy

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 1187.

Councillors present became anxious as to their own safety. Wriothesley and Gardiner were the principal instigators in the prosecution of Anne Askew, but Cranmer affixed his signature to her death warrant, so that he shared the responsibility for sending her to the stake.

A few days before Anne was burnt, a proclamation was made in the city forbidding any man or woman, whatever their degree, to have certain books in their possession. Among these prohibited books were Tyndale's version of the New Testament and Coverdale's Bible; any one having any of these books was ordered to bring them to the Lord Mayor so that they might be publicly burnt.* The Hansa merchants of the Steelyard were driving a great trade at this time in the contraband traffic of importing Lutheran books which were bought for large prices. But in spite of the proclamation, those courtiers who were of the reformed faith still continued to practise their religion.

Early in 1547, Van der Delft writes to the Emperor :

If the King favours these stirrers of heresy, the Earl of Hertford, and the Lord Admiral [Lisle], which is to be feared, both for the reasons that I have already given, and because the Queen instigated by the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and the Lord Admiral's wife, shows herself infected, words, and exhortations, even in the name of your Majesty, would only make the King more obstinate, to show his absolute power and independence, and might engender a coolness towards your Majesty, which at present is undesirable.†

But these moods of the King's of which Van der Delft complains, were not to trouble the Ambassador much longer. Henry had been in bad health for some little time, and, as his health grew worse, his temper became increasingly suspicious. In 1546 the Duke of Norfolk and Surrey, his poet son, were both sent to the Tower; Surrey was beheaded, and Norfolk would

* *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Vol. I, pp. 168-9.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 289.

have shared his son's fate, in spite of the signal proofs of loyalty that he had so repeatedly given, had not Henry himself been too near death to sign the death warrant. Henry VIII died on the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, and on Sunday, the twentieth of February, his nine-years-old son was crowned at Westminster Abbey. The young Duke of Suffolk, now aged eleven, carried the orb at the coronation; and with his brother Charles he was among the forty persons that were made Knights of the Bath on this occasion. Many new peers were created, including Sir William Willoughby, son and heir of Sir Christopher Willoughby of Parham.

Shortly after the death of Henry VIII a warrant was issued giving the Duchess the wardship and marriage of her son Henry, a very signal proof of favour in those days. The wardship of Agnes Woodall, the last of the wards to be bought by the Duke, was also granted to the Duchess, and the allowances for the two children—twenty pounds for the little girl and two hundred pounds for the Duke—were subsequently increased to forty pounds and three hundred pounds respectively.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 963.

CHAPTER XVIII

Katherine Parr's marriage with Lord Seymour—Letter from Katherine Parr—Differences with her husband over Princess Elizabeth—The Princess removed from the Queen's custody—Birth of Katherine Parr's daughter—The Queen's death—Seymour's ambitions—His unscrupulous methods—His arrest and execution—Care of his daughter committed to the Duchess of Suffolk—The Duchess's letter to Cecil complaining of the burden of the child's maintenance.

HENRY VIII was not long mourned by his widow. Exactly thirty-five days after his death Katherine Parr was married to the Lord High Admiral, Sir Thomas Seymour,* who had been created Lord Seymour of Sudeley at Edward VI's coronation. For a time the marriage was kept a secret, and influential people were approached, to induce them to intercede with the King to consent to the marriage. It was an old attachment.

KATHERINE PARR to LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY.

MY LORD,

I send you my most humble and hearty commendations, being desirous to know how you have done since I saw you. I pray you not to be offended with me in that I send to you sooner than I said I would, for my promise was but once in a fortnight. Howbeit, the time is well abbreviated by what means I know not, except the weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places. My Lord, your brother,† hath deferred answering such requests as I made unto him till his coming hither, which he saith, shall be immediately after the term. This is not the first promise which I have received of his coming, and not performing. I think my Lady hath taught him

* Brother of Jane Seymour.

† The Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset.

that lesson ; for it is her custom to promise many things to her friends, but to perform none. I trust in greater matters, she is more circumspect. And thus, my Lord, I make an end, bidding you most heartily farewell, wishing you the good I would myself.

fr. Chelsea.

P.S.—I would not have you think that this mine honest good will towards you to proceed from any motion of passion ; but as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently, for a time, and through his grace made that possible which seemed to me impossible ; that was making me to renounce utterly my own will, and to follow his most willingly.

It were too long to write all the process of the matter—if I live, I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing, but as my Lady of Suffolk saith, “ God is a marvellous man.”

By her that is yours to serve and obey during her life.

Katherine, the Queen, K.P.*

By stifling her feelings for Seymour, in order to marry Henry VIII, Katherine Parr evidently considered that she was answering a divine call ! She was obviously infatuated with Seymour, and it is pathetic to think how very soon he seems to have wearied of hearing her explain what she is pleased to term “ the process of the matter.” For one thing, he did not share her religious fervour, and when daily prayers were ordered by the Queen, Seymour, we are told, “ would get himself out of the way like a mole digging in the ground,” and for another, Princess Elizabeth, who had been placed in the Queen’s charge, soon became a cause of discord. Seymour was very good looking, and the attention ~~that~~ he paid to the Princess was remarked and deeply resented by Katherine. Finally, it was deemed advisable to remove the Princess,

* *Brocklehurst MSS.*, Sudeley Castle.

and the Queen and Seymour left Chelsea Manor, which was one of the dower-houses that had been granted to her, and went to live at Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire. Seymour had made additions to the Castle for the Queen's reception, but she did not long survive her arrival at her new home. She died on the thirtieth of August, 1548, eight days after the birth of her daughter. A book entitled "Lamentations of a sinner bewailing the ignorance of her blind life," was found among her papers after her death. William Cecil, now a member of the Duke of Somerset's household, wrote a preface to it, and it was "set forth, and put into print at the instant desire of the right Gracious Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, and the request of Lord William Parr, Marquis of Northampton." *

After the Queen's death it was Seymour's ambition to marry either Princess Mary or Princess Elizabeth, while he also wished to bring about a marriage between the young King and Lady Jane Grey, now aged ten, who had been in his wife's household—a project which induced the Dorsets to allow her to remain on with Seymour. All these schemes required money, and he took to desperate courses. In conjunction with Sir William Sharrington, vice-treasurer of the Bristol Mint, Seymour began to counterfeit money. Sharrington bought church plate in Somerset villages and coined it into shillings containing two-thirds alloy. Seymour also established a cannon foundry at which twenty-four cannon fit for use were turned out. A plot to seize the person of the young King was the charge on which he was finally arrested, but in the bill for his attainder, there were no less than thirty-three charges, which included the extortion of large sums of money for ships, taking possession of goods seized by pirates and wrongfully imprisoning those who had captured pirates when they were brought up before him. It was also cited against

* Two editions were published, one in 1548 and another in 1563.

him that he had married the Queen scandalously soon after the death of the King, and that he had deceived both the young King and others by begging them to intercede with the Queen on his behalf, when all the time he was already married to her. The Duke of Somerset, now Lord Protector, made no effort to save his brother, and Seymour was condemned to death. The task of announcing the sentence to him was entrusted to the Bishop of Ely; on hearing it, Seymour made two requests: he asked that the date of his execution might be deferred in order that he might have the ministrations of Latimer, and that his baby daughter might be committed to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk. Although he was granted these petitions, the result, in both cases, would have given Seymour little satisfaction. Latimer's sermon, after his execution, was a bitter assault on Seymour's character, and the care of the baby girl was accepted with a very poor grace by the Duchess. The child had been at Sion with her uncle, the Lord Protector, whence she was sent to Grimsthorpe in the charge of her governess, Mrs. Aglionby, a nurse, two maids, and other servants. As Seymour's money, including all that the Queen had left him, had been confiscated, the child and her train had to be supported by the Duchess, and were a source of great expense to her.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO CECIL. *August 27th, 1549.*

It is said that the best means of remedy to the sick is first plainly to confess, and disclose the disease, wherefore, both for remedy, and again for that my disease is so strong that it will not be hidden, I will disclose me unto you. First, I will, as it were under Benedicte, and in high secrecy, declare unto you that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise you, increaseth mightily upon me. Amongst others thereof, if you will understand, not least the Queen's child hath layen, and still doth lie at my house,

with her company about her, wholly at my charges. I have written to my Lady of Somerset at large, that there be some pension allotted unto her according to my Lord Grace's promise. Now, good Cecil, help at a pinch all that you may help. My Lady also sent me word at Whitsuntide, by Bertie,* that my Lord's Grace, at her suit, had also granted certain nursery plate should be delivered with the child. And lest there might be stay for lack of a present bill for such plate and stuff as there was in the nursery, I send you here enclosed of all such parcels as were appointed for the child's only use, and that you may the better understand that I cry not before I am pricked. I send you also Mrs. Aglionby's letter unto me, who with the maid's nourrice, and others, daily call one for their wages, whose voices my ears hardly bear, but my coffers much worse.

Wherefore I cease, and commit me, and my sickness to your diligent cure with my hearty commendations to your wife.

At my Manor of Grimsthorpe,
Your assured loving friend,
K. SUFFOLK.

A Bill of all such plate, and other stuff as belonged to the nursery of the Queen's child.

First :

2 pots of silver all white.

3 goblets of silver all white.

1 salt, silver and parcel gilt.

A "muster" with a band of silver, and parcel gilt.

11 spoons all white.

It. A quilt for the cradle, 3 pillows, and 1 pair of fustians.

It. 3 feather beds, 3 quilts, and 3 pairs of fustians.

It. A tester of scarlet, embroidered, with a counterpoint of silk saye, belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta.

It. 2 counterpoints of imagery for the nurse's bed.

It. 6 pairs of sheets of little worth.

It. 6 fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber.

* Richard Bertie, the Duchess's gentleman usher, whom she afterwards married as her second husband.

It. 4 carpets for the windows.

It. 10 pieces of hangings of the twelve months within the outer chambre.

It. 2 cushions of cloth of gold.

It. 1 chair of cloth of gold.

It. 2 wrought stools.

It. A bedstead gilt, with a tester, and counterpoint with curtains belonging to same.

It. 2 "mellche beastes" which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may please your Grace to write may be bestowed upon the two maids towards their marriage, which shall be shortly.

It. One lute.

Endorsed ; To my loving friend, Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my Lord Proctor's Grace.

From my Lady Suffolk's Grace to my M^r, concerning the Queen's child, nursed at her house of Grimsthorpe, with a bill of plate belonging to the nursery.*

Strype † refers to the heavy charges that the maintenance of the Queen's child imposed on the Duchess, whom he describes as being none of the wealthiest. How long the child remained with the Duchess does not appear ; apparently, no allowance was ever made for her. She eventually married Sir Edward Bushel, one of the gentlemen in attendance upon Anne of Denmark, wife of James I. The Bushels had only one daughter, who married a member of the Lawson family ; as all the papers of this family were destroyed in a fire, a certain amount of mystery has always surrounded the subsequent history of Katherine Parr's daughter.

* *Burghley Papers*, 1538-1552, Bibl. Lansd., No. 2, Part 17.

† Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 2, 1.

CHAPTER XIX

The Duchess's activities in Lincolnshire spreading the reformed doctrines—Visit of her elder son to France—Both sons students at Cambridge—The Duchess settles at Kingston—Intercourse with Martin Bucer, Haddon, Wilson, and Cecil—Letters to Cecil regarding the purchase of Spilsby Chantry—Her trading ventures—Proposed marriage for her son—Somerset's impeachment—Morrison's letter to Throgmorton.

THE Court of Henry VIII had been the most splendid in Europe. After his death, however, expenses were very much curtailed, and the Duchess of Suffolk now settled at Grimsthorpe. At the close of 1547 it is recorded of her that

she was very active in seconding the efforts of government to abolish superfluous Holy Days, to remove images and relics from the churches, to destroy shrines and other monuments of idolatry and superstition, to put an end to pilgrimages, to reform the clergy, to see that every church had provided, in some convenient place, a copy of the large Bible, to stir up the Bishops, Vicars and Curates to diligence in preaching against the usurped authority of the Pope; in inculcating upon all the reading of the Scriptures and especially the young, the Pater Noster, the Articles of Faith and the Ten Commandments in English.*

A proof of the influence that the young Duchess wielded in Lincolnshire at this time is furnished by the following extract from a letter to the Earl of Rutland:

In Leicestershire, [blank] and the Earl of Huntingdon have the rule, in Lincolnshire, Lady Suffolk. If [blank] have all the shire, there is but Nottinghamshire for you.†

* Strype, *Mem. Eccles.*, II, Part I, p. 83.

† *Rutland MSS.*, p. 32.

It is clear that the Duchess took her responsibilities most seriously, and superintending a large house can have been no easy task for such a young woman. The host of retainers was not merely a source of great expense, but was also difficult to rule, and in the Duke's letters there are frequent references to assaults and affrays among his servants.

From this time onwards, William Cecil was to prove a most staunch friend and adviser. He was one year younger than the Duchess. The friendship probably originated through William Cecil's maternal grandfather, William Heckington, who lived at the town of Bourne, five miles from Grimsthorpe. And Richard Bertie, one of her gentlemen-ushers, evidently assisted the Duchess in the transaction of her business.

The scope that her position now afforded her rapidly developed her character; Fuller describes the Duchess as "a Lady of sharp wit, and sure hand to thrust it home, and make it pierce when she pleased." Unfortunately for her, as it was afterwards to prove, an opportunity occurred, during the summer of 1548, of exercising this at the expense of Bishop Gardiner. Gardiner had been committed to the Tower in consequence of the doctrines that he had expounded when he preached before Edward VI. Catching sight of the Duchess one day passing by his window—on her way, probably, to the Minories, which had been lately given by the King to the Marquis of Dorset—Gardiner, by way of salutation, "veiled his bonnet to her," whereupon the Duchess, remembering, no doubt, the fate of Anne Askew, cried out tauntingly, "It is merry with the lambs now that the wolf is shut up." * This, at all events, is what the Bishop understood her to say, and in consequence he cherished a grudge against her ever after. "Gardiner's malice," says Fuller, "was like what is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no

* *Foxe's Book of Martyrs.*

report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty. This made him often chide Bonner, calling him an ass, though not so much for killing poor people, as for not doing it more cunningly."

The Duchess's elder son was, for a time, one of the King's fellow-pupils, their tutor being Sir John Cheke, an uncle of William Cecil, but she had her younger son with her in Lincolnshire. In the list of the Duchess's horses, dated 1548, "my Lord Charles' nag" and "Mrs. Margaret Blakborn's nag" are mentioned. Mrs. Margaret Blakborn's name appears in the Grant to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk of the livery of William, Lord Willoughby's lands,* and she was now governess to the younger Brandon boy. "A gray geldinge horsle gevene to my Lord of Suffolk's schoolmaster" is also mentioned, while a black gelding and a sorrel gelding are described as gifts from Mr. John Wingfield to "my Lord of Suffolk, and my Lord Charles." Three horses are in London, eight horses are in the stables at Grims-thorpe, and fifteen, which are described as "trotting horses," are in the pastures at Grimsthorpe. There is a list of the "trotting" and the "ambling" horses which have been bred, and a list of the mares with notes to say how one has been sent to "my Lord Marquis" [Dorset] and another to the "Lord Admiral [Seymour] and to others. Four mares are described as being "appointed for the carriage," and the mares are all Flemish mares, while nearly all the horses have names—"Black and White Suffolk," "White Willoughby," "Bay Dymock," and "Black Seymour," being some of them. At the end comes a list of the horses which have been "gevene, sold, or ded" since the twenty-second of May, 1547.*

Early in 1549 the Duke of Suffolk went to France, accompanied by his tutor; from the following account of this visit, it seems that the writer, Thomas Wilson, must have been the tutor.

* *Ancaster MSS.*

The Duke, following his Father's nature, was so delighted with riding and running in armour upon horseback, and was so comely for that feat, and could do so well in chargyng his staff, being but thirteen years of age, that menne of warre, even at this hour, mone the want of such a worthy gentleman. Yea, the Frenchmen that first wondered at his learning, when he was there among them, and made a notable oration in Latin, were much astonished when they saw his comely riding.*

The visit can only have been a short one, and on his return the Duke rejoined the King. On the fourth of May, 1549, with another fellow-pupil, the Earl of Ormonde,† he addressed the following request to the Earl of Rutland, the Warden of the East and Middle Marches :

We beseech you to place the bearer, our loving friend Anthony Pore, in some honest room where he may willingly serve."

The Duke remained with the King until the autumn, when he joined his younger brother, who was now a pupil at St. John's College, Cambridge. Founded by Margaret Richmond, Countess of Derby, William Cecil had also been a student there, and this was probably the reason why the Duchess chose this college.

Judging by the following extract from a sermon preached by the Master from St. Paul's Cross in 1550, the plight of the ordinary student at St. John's was scarcely a happy one :

There be divers which ryse dayly betwixt foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve to syxe of the clocke use commons prayre, wyth an exhortacion of God's worde, in a common chapell ; and from syxe untill ten of the clocke use ever, eyther private studies, or common lectures. At ten of the clocke, they go to dinner,

* Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*. Henry Brandon was said to know French, Italian, Latin and Greek.

† Thomas Butler, born in 1532, succeeded to the Earldom of Ormonde in 1548.

whereas they be contente with a penny piece of biefe amongst four havynge a few potage made of the brothe of the same biefe, wyth salt, and otemele, and nothing elles. After this slender dinner, they be either teachynge, or learynge untill five of the clocke of the eveninge, when they have a supper not much better than the dinner. Immedyatelye after the whyche, they go either to reasonynges in problemes, or unto some other studye, untill it be nine or tenne of the clocke, and then, beinge without fyre, are feyne to walke or run up and down haulfe an houre, to get a heate on their feyte, when they go to bed.*

It was compulsory at this time for the students to live in, and it was not until the next century, when the age of the students was raised, that they were free to choose their own lodgings. Although one can scarcely suppose that the Brandon brothers endured the privations described above, yet they must have shared the life of the ordinary students. In order that she might be near her sons, the Duchess went to live at Kingston, a village six miles to the west of Cambridge; she probably stayed at the old Manor House, formerly a nunnery, which still survives. The Duchess describes it as her "cottage of Kingston."

At Cambridge the Brandon brothers came under the influence of many distinguished men. Their tutor, Thomas Wilson, subsequently lay Dean of Durham, Secretary of State, and Master of St. Katherine's College, was the author of the "Arte of Rhetorique," the first book in the English language to lay down rules on style. In collaboration with his friends, Sir John Cheke, Roger Asham, and Walter Haddon, Wilson did much to mould the development of learning in England, and as Haddon also was now at Cambridge, the brothers could attend his lectures.

Another celebrated man who was at Cambridge at this time was Martin Bucer, one of the leading Continental Reformers. He had been invited to England by

* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biography*.

Cranmer, and on his arrival the Duchess had been one of the first to extend him a warm welcome. Bucer's colleague, Peter the Martyr, had been made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and the same post at Cambridge was bestowed upon Bucer. During her stay at Kingston the Duchess became very friendly with him, and in one of her letters she mentions a visit she paid him.

In May 1550 the Duchess writes to Cecil from Kingston about the purchase of the Chantry of the Holy Trinity at Spilsby. This Chantry had been founded in 1347 by the second Lord Willoughby, but as he had died before the arrangements were completed, it was his son, the third Lord Willoughby, who obtained—

License to amortise divers lands in Spilsby and other places for the maintenance of a master, and twelve priests, to celebrate divine service every day for the good estate of himself, and the said Joan,* his mother, and their children during this life. As also for the soul of John, his father, and all the faithful deceased, in the chapel of Spilsby.

The Duchess's grandfather, Sir Christopher Willoughby, was buried in the Priory Church of Campsea, Suffolk, but he left his best horse and best saddle as a mortuary to the master of the Chantry of the Holy Trinity at Spilsby. This was before the Willoughby barony had reverted to his branch of the family.

According to a document at Grimsthorpe,† the lands and the rights of the Chantry had been surrendered to the Duchess three years before the following letter was written :

* Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Roscelin.

† 1547, "Grant by Thomas Maltby, clerk, master of the Chantry or College of Holy Trinity in the Church of Spilsby, and the Chaplains of the said Chantry or College, to Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, of all their lands and rights within the realm of England together with the advowsons of the Churches of Overtoynton, Kirkeby, and Eresby, with the Chapel of Spilsby." September 14, Edward VI. *Ancaster MSS.*

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK to WILLIAM CECIL.

I have looked for letters from you. The season and want of counsel would much have commended them. Edward Hall * wrote to me that he had opened to you the answer of my Lord Paget unto him as touching my desire to purchase Spilsby Chantry, and which he advised me to enter into the same. He added in the same letter that you promised to write your advice to me in that behalf, but I beshrew long the carrier that bringeth them not. I must therefore proceed like blind Bayard.† I have written a letter with an ill will to the whole body of the Council, according to my Lord Paget's device, but so as I mind not the delivery thereof, unless it like you the better. Me seemeth it had been the readier way to have had a bill drawn of my suit, and the same to be presented to the whole Council, and with my private letters, to belabour my friends. Devise what you think good, either that my letter be delivered, or a bill of supplication. I would have written to my Lord of Somerset at this time, but my leisure serveth me not ; and his assuredness maketh me the bolder to wait upon others. I pray you to declare to Edward Hall which way, and how, he shall give this onset ; and afterwards, how I shall follow with my letters in the battle and my money in the rearward.

So with your farewell, Your assured friend,

K. SUFFOLK.‡

In the autumn of 1550 the Duchess returned to Lincolnshire. She writes to Cecil from Eresby in August, and on the second of October she sends him the following letter from Tattershall :

I must desire you, good Master Cecil, to show your friendship to this poor bearer, in a certain suit that one of Jersey hath against his brother. His request is but that it will please my Lord of Somerset, either to direct his

* Edward Hall of Gretford, Lincs., a cousin of the Duchess. He seems to have attended to business matters for her and the Cecil family.

† The Chevalier Bayard was captured by the English, at the Siege of Terouenne in 1513.

‡ P. F. Tyler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, Vol. I, p. 281.

letter, or else to command his under Captain in Jersey to call the matter before him, and to make some honest end of it, for otherwise the poor fool is like to be undone. But what this matter is, I am not able to tell you, and I pray the poor fool himself may be able to do it ; but if he can, I pray you then to help him, even for charity's sake, and with the more speed that he may the sooner return to his garden, and home, for I can have no salad till he return, neither shall there be of sweet herbs if you cannot help him with his suit. And so I commit him with all his evil English to you, and to God.*
from Tattershall Castle.

A week later the Duchess was in Stamford to hear Latimer preach. The Duchess was already a great friend of his ; the first edition of the sermons that he preached before the King in the Privy Gardens at Westminster has the Duchess's arms as a frontispiece. But though an ardent disciple, the Duchess does not seem to have taken to heart all Latimer's admonitions. In one of the sermons that he preached before the King, Latimer says :

Again, the coveteousness of the gentry appeared as in raising their rents, so in oppressing the poorer sort by enclosures, thereby taking away the lands, where they had served their forefathers, to feed their cattle, for the subsistence of their families, which was such an oppression, that it caused them to break out into a rebellion in the year 1549.†

Just before coming to Stamford the Duchess had been in correspondence with Cecil concerning a controversy that was going on between her and the inhabitants of East Deeping about a marsh, and a common in her lordship of Pinchbeck.

The rebellion in Norfolk, to which Latimer refers, was called Ket's Rebellion after its leader, a brewer called Ket ; in her next letter the Duchess speaks of the

* *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, Vol. III, pp. 249-250.

† *Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 2, Part II, p. 130.

source of profit that this rebellion had been to her. She writes to congratulate Cecil on being made Secretary of State, and the allusion to the Tower refers to his brief imprisonment there at the time that his master, Somerset, was first impeached for High Treason :

I did never mistrust that you should always live by your change. I have thought your goods to be so good and saleable, but you must consider that change goeth high now-a-days ; and though it were painful for you to go as far as the Tower for it, thanks yet be to the Lord that in the end, you are no loser. I am content to become your partner as you promise me, and I will abide all adventures in your ship, be the weather fair or foul ; and though I cannot help you with costly wares to furnish her, yet I shall ply you with my woollen stuffs which may serve her for ballast. If you marvel how that I am become so cunning in ship works, you shall understand that I am about the making of one here by me at Boston's, or rather the patching of an old one ; which gentle recompense I had for my wines wherewith the Honor victualled the rebels in Norfolk, last year ; so that I am now become a merchant vintner. Thus, many ways, beggars seek their thrift ; which having sought, I cannot find by land, and mind now to try my luck by water : and if I speed well, I promise you as liberally to divide with you as you promise me.

I thank you heartily for your news from abroad, and rejoice they be so good. And so farewell with Mistress or my Lady Mildred.*

In 1515 Henry VIII had granted the Duchess's father a licence to deal in wool at Boston ; two years later Lord Willoughby was given a further licence allowing him to export malt and fifty tons of beer annually from the same port. It seems a curious reading of the Willoughby motto, "Loyaute me oblige," for the Duchess to make

* P. F. Tyler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, Vol. I, pp. 323-4. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, married first Mary Cheke ; Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, was his second wife.

use of these privileges in order to send supplies to Edward VI's rebellious subjects.

But all the time that the Duchess was engaging in these various activities, her first consideration was the education of her sons.

This is Wilson's account of how they spent their days :

During dinner, one of them read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and did afterwards translate into English ; they then said Grace in turns ; and did afterwards propound questions, either in philosophy or Divinity ; and so spent all the time at meat in Latin disputation.

When there was any public disputation, they were always present ; every morning, they did read and afterwards translate some of Plato in Greek, and at supper present their labours. Every day was devoted to private lectures, and the residue they did account for.

In 1551 the question arose of a marriage for the Duke. Cecil was the intermediary. The sentiments expressed by the Duchess in her letter on the subject prove conclusively that her own marriage had been one of inclination.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO WILLIAM CECIL. *May 9th, 1551.*

And when it pleased my Lord of Warwick, for the better show of his friendship, to wish my Lord of Somerset to go through with my son for his daughter, I trust the friendship between my Lord Somerset and me, hath been tried such, and hath good assurance upon the simple respects of our good will only that we shall not need to do anything rash, or in orderly, to make the world to believe better of our friendships ; and for the one of us to think well of the other. No unadvised bonds between a boy and a girl, can give such assurance of good will as has been tried already. And now, they, marrying by our orders, and without their consents, as they be yet without judgment to give such consent as ought to be given to matrimony, I cannot tell what more unkindness one of

us might show one another, or wherein we might work more wickedly, than to bring our children into so miserable a state not to choose, by their own likings. This, I promise you, I have said for my Lord's daughter, as well as for my son, and this more I say for myself, and I say it not but truly, I know none this day living that I rather wish my son than she, but I am not, because I like her best, therefore desirous that she should be constrained by her friends to have him, whom she might peradventure, not like so well as I like her ; neither can I yet assure myself of my son's liking, neither do I greatly mistrust it, for if he be ruled by right judgment, then shall he, I am sure, have no cause to dislike, except he think himself disliked ; but to have this matter come best to pass, were that we parents kept still our friendship, and suffer our children to follow our examples, and to begin their loves themselves, without our forcing ; for although both might happen to be obedient to their parents, and marry at our pleasures, and so find no other cause to dislike but that by our power, they lost their free choice, whereby neither can think themselves so much bounden to the other, that fault is sufficient to break the greatest love ; whereby I will make much of my Lady's daughter, without the respect of my son's cause ; and it may well please my Lord, to love my son for his mother's sake, and so I doubt not, but if God do not dislike it, my son, and his daughter shall much better like it, to make up the matter themselves, and let them even alone with it, saying there can be no good agreement happen between them that we shall dislike, and if it should not happen, there is neither they, nor none of us, shall blame another. And so my good Cecil, being weary, I leave you to the Lord.

from Kingston.*

It appears from this letter that the Earl of Warwick had proposed a marriage between his son and the Duke's daughter, and that the Duke had spoken of the young Duke of Suffolk as a possible suitor for the lady. But evidently the Duchess's letter to Cecil was not considered sufficiently definite, and the Somersets preferred to make

* J. Anderson, *Ladies of the Reformation*.

certain of a husband for Lady Anne Seymour rather than wait for a mutual attachment to grow up between the Duke and their daughter. Three weeks later, she was married to Lord Lisle,* at Sheen, in the presence of the King.

It is, however, a proof of the Duchess's friendship for the Duke of Somerset, as well as of the influence with which she was credited, that Cecil wrote to her to beg her to come to London to intercede with the Council on behalf of his master, when the Duke was again accused of High Treason not long afterwards. The Duchess replied as follows :

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK to WILLIAM CECIL. *March 21st, 1551.*

If I could by any means, be persuaded that I might do my Lord, the Duke, good, I would most gladly put myself in any adventure for it ; but alas, if I come, I am not able to do for him that I would, and as unable to do that which we stuck on so long ; then shall I not only do him no good, but rather harm, and that I would be most sorry for. Wherefore in this I will well think how I can master this crooked and froward mind of mine, before I come, and if I can bring that to pass, then I will not fail with speed to accomplish your desire and mine own. And so when I had written my letter, there came a letter from a friend of mine, who declared very good news and great hope of my Lord Somerset's being called to the Council very shortly, wherefore now, I am better determined to stay their coming till their goodness be past, lest otherwise, if I come up whilst it is still moving, they think I come to take away their thanks.

Good Cecil, God be with you ; and I pray you to make my hearty commendations and excuses that I write not at this time to them for I have taken so extreme a cold that I have lost my speech and almost my sight ; wherefore I leave you, and Mistress Mildred, to God.

From the village of Kingston.†

* The Duke of Northumberland's eldest son now bore this title.

† *Letters of the Royal and other Ladies*, Part II, p. 241.

Evidently there was one aspect of this matter in which the Duchess and Cecil did not see eye to eye, and the Duchess was very tenacious in her opinions. Also, she could display considerable warmth. This is proved by the following passage in a letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. The writer of the letter is Richard Morrison, the English Ambassador at the Court of Charles V ; he probably refers to some business matters connected with the estate of the Duchess's late husband.

I can but wonder at my Lady of Suffolk's heats. They have often cumbered me before, but never worse than at this time. It is a great pity that so goodly a wit waiteth on so froward a will. I have often, but in vain, made the suit to her that will might wait upon wit another time.*

fr. Augsburg.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Edward VI, No. 338.

CHAPTER XX

Death of Martin Bucer—Re-appearance of the sweating sickness—Disease developed by the Brandon brothers—Wilson's description of their last hours—Their death at Buckden—Wilson's Life of the brothers—His references to the Duchess in his *Arte of Rhetorique*—Inventory of the Brandon brothers' effects—The Duchess's letter to Cecil referring to the loss of her sons.

THE year 1551 was destined to be a very sad one for the Duchess. In February she lost her friend, Martin Bucer. We are told that she went to nurse him in his last illness, and that she was present at his death-bed. Bucer was buried in St. Mary's Church at Cambridge,* his funeral was attended by no fewer than three thousand persons, while a large number of Cambridge scholars wrote epitaphs on him. Amongst them were the Brandon brothers, and this lugubrious task is one of the last acts recorded of them.

The same summer the deadly sweating sickness again broke out in England. This disease had first made its appearance in 1485. A curious fact about it was that it only attacked English people, for even on the rare occasions when there were cases of it abroad, it was English people who were the victims. In his "Boke of counseill" against the disease, which he wrote in 1552, Dr. Caius gives this description of the first visitation in this country, and the awful suddenness with which it came on :

* When Queen Mary visited Cambridge in 1557, the chest containing Bucer's body was taken up, and set against a stake in the Market Place and burnt. But in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the rights of English citizenship were restored to Bucer's family, and a grandson of his was maintained at the University, half the cost being borne by the Queen and half by the University.

It immediately killed some in opening their windows, some in playing with children in their street doors, some in one house, many in two, it destroyed; and at the longest, to them that merrily dined, it gave a sorrowful supper. As it found them, so it took them, some in sleep, some fasting and some full. If half a town escaped, it was a great favour.

There had been another very bad outbreak in 1517, and it had re-appeared several times since, but in 1551, according to contemporary writers, young men in their prime seemed especially liable to catch it. Directly cases of the disease were reported at Cambridge, the Brandon brothers, and their cousin George Stanley, were sent to Kingston, where Stanley developed the illness and died in a few hours. Thereupon the Brandons were hurried off to Buckden. Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln, had been deprived of the Palace four years previously, and Lady Margaret Nevill, a sister of Lord Latimer's, and step-daughter of Katherine Parr, was now living there. According to Wilson, the brothers had constantly visited Lady Margaret. But these attempts to remove them from the reach of the contagion proved unavailing. Both brothers sickened of the disease and both died. Wilson writes :

They were both together in one house, lodged in several chambers, and almost at one time, both sickened, and both departed. They died both Dukes, both well learned, both wise, both right Godly. They both gave strange tokens of death to come. The elder, sitting at supper and very merry, said suddenly to that right honest matron and godly gentlewoman,* that most faithful, and long assured servant, whose life God grant long to continue: "O Lord, where shall we sup to-morrow at night?" Whereupon, she being troubled, and yet saying comfortably, "I trust, my Lord, either here, or elsewhere at some of your friends' houses." "Nay," quoth he, "we shall never sup together again in this world, be you well assured," and with that, seeing the gentlewoman

* Mrs. Margaret Blakborn.

discomfited, turned it into mirth, and passed the rest of the supper with much joy, and the same night, after twelve of the clock, being the fourteenth of July, sickened, and so was taken the next morning, about seven of the clock, to the mercy of God, in the year of our Lord, 1551. When the eldest was gone, the younger would not tarry, but told before (having no knowledge thereof by any body living) of his brother's death, to the great wondering of all that were there, declaring what it was to lose so dear a friend, but comforting himself in that passion said, "Well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter for I will go straight after him," and so he did in the space of half an hour.*

Wilson states that her elder son was already dead when the Duchess arrived at Buckden, and as her second son had then been attacked, she must have known that his hours were numbered. It seems a curious coincidence that Buckden Palace, where Charles Brandon had treated Queen Katherine so harshly, should have been the place where his last two sons were to be cut off in the flower of their youth in so tragic a manner. An altar tomb in the churchyard at Buckden is said to be that of the brothers, and this is probably the case, as the tomb is of the Tudor period, and there is no record of any other person of importance dying there about that date. No doubt the tomb was inside the church originally, and it must have been removed to the churchyard during some so-called "restoration" of the church. This would account for the absence of armorial bearings on the shields, as the weather would quickly have obliterated any carving and inscription.

Amongst the papers of Thomas Wriothesley, Garter-King-at-Arms, is the following note :

A.D. 1551. A Bill for paynting of banners for the burial of the Duke of Suffolk's brother, by John Child, painter.†

* Thomas Wilson, *Epistola de vita et obitu duorum fratrum Suffolkiensium Henrici et Carole Brandon*.

† *Northumberland MSS.*, 3rd Report.

And the following entry occurs in Machyn's Diary :

The twenty-seventh of September was the monyths mind of the two Dukes of Suffolk, in Cambrye-shyre, with (2) standards, 2 banners grete of armes, and large, and banners rolled of divers armes with 2 helmets, 2 [swords], 2 targets crowned, 2 cotes of armes, 2 crests, and ten dozen of schochons crownyd ; and yt was grete pity of [their] dethe, and yt had plesyd God, of so nobull a stok they wher, for there ys no more left of them.

Heralds in these days played a very important part at funerals. The style of the dead was pronounced at the graveside by the officers of arms, after the fashion which is followed in our own day at state funerals, and very high fees were charged for these services by Garter-King-at-Arms.

In perpetual remembrance of her two sons, the Duchess endowed four scholarships at St. John's College, Cambridge, with six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

Any mother thus suddenly bereaved of her children would command much sympathy, and the high promise of the Brandon brothers made the Duchess's loss all the sadder. There were innumerable expressions of regret. Walter Haddon, the great Latinist of the day, pronounced a eulogy of them before the university of Cambridge, Sir John Cheke wrote an epitaph, and in addition to the countless funeral odes that were addressed to their memory by Cambridge scholars, a band of Oxford students, including Henry Knollys and Richard Bertie, also paid written tributes to them. But the most striking testimony of all was that of Thomas Wilson, their tutor. In after years, when Wilson was Secretary of State, a contemporary writer speaks of his " large and strong memory," and while his influence and friendship were eagerly sought, he seems never to have forgotten his two former pupils.

In collaboration with Haddon, Wilson wrote a life of

the two brothers, *Epistola de vita et obitu duorum fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Carole Brandon*, which was dedicated to the Marquis of Dorset,* and in "An example of commending a noble personage," in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, Wilson pays a further tribute to them.

Their towardnesse was such, and their giftes so great, that I know none which love learning, but hath sorrowed the lacke of their being. And I know that the only naming of them, will stir honest hearts to speak well of them. In their youth, their father died, the eldest being not past nine years of age. After whose death, their mother, knowing that wealth without wit is like a sword in a naked man's hande, and assuredly certaine that knowledge would confirme judgment, provided so for their bringing up in all virtue and learning that two like were not to be had within this Realm againe. The elder's nature was such that he thought himself best when he was among the wisest, and yet contemned none, but thankfully used all, gentle in behaviour without childishnesse, stout of stomach without all pride, bold without all wariness and friendly without good advisement. The younger, being not so ripe in yeeres, was not so grave in looke, rather cheerfull than sad, rather quick than ancient; but yet, if his brother were set aside not one that went beyond him. . . They both, in all attempts, sought to have the victorie, and in exercise of wit, not only the one with the other, did often stand in contention, but also they both would match the best, and thought themselves most happie when they might have any just occasion to put their wittes in triall. And now, when their greene fruit began to waxe ripe, God, preventing man's expectation, took them both in about one howre, and in so short a time, that first they were known to be dead, or any abroad could tell they were sicke. I neede not rehearse what both they spake, before their departure (considering I have severally written both in Latine, and in English, of the same matter), neither will I heape here so much together as I can, because I should rather

* The Marquis of Dorset was created Duke of Suffolk in September 1551.

renew great sorrow to many, than doe most men any great good, who loved them so well generally, that few, for a great space after, spake of these two gentelmen, but they shed teares with the only utterance of their wordes, and some, through over much sorrowing, were faine to forebeare speaking.

In "An Example of Comfort," also in the *Arte of Rhetorique*, Wilson addresses the Duchess, whom he thus describes :

Of birthe noble, and witte great, of nature merciful to the poore and the godly and especially to the learned, an earnest, and good patroness and most helping Lady above all.

Though mine enterprise may bee thought foolish and my doinges very slender in busying my braine to teach the expert, to give counsaile to others when I lacke it myselfe, and whereas more neede were for mee to be taught of others than to take upon mee to teach my betters, yet, dutie binding mee to doe my best, and among a number, though I can doe least, yet good will setting me forth with the foremost, I cannot chuse but write what I am able, and speake what I can possible, for the better comforting of your Grace in this your greate heavinesse and sore visitation, sent from God as a warning to us all. When God lately visited this Realme with the Sweating Disease, and received the two worthie gentlemen, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and his brother, Lord Charles ; I, seeing my Ladies Grace, their mother, taking their death most grievously, could not otherwise, for the dutie which I then did, and ever shall owe unto her, but comfort her in that her heavinesse, the which undoubtedly at tyme, much weakened her bodie. And because it may serve for an example of comfort, I have bene bold to set it forth, as it followeth hereafter.

. . . The passions of the mind have divers effectes, and therefore worke straungely, according to their properties. For, like as joye comforteth the heart, nourisheth bloud and quickeneth the whole bodie ; so heavinesse and care hinder digestion, engender evill humour, waste the principall partes and with time, consume the whole bodie. For the better knowledge

thereof and for a lively sight of the same, we need not seeke farre for any example, but even to come straight unto your Grace, whose bodie, I understand credibly, and partly see myselfe, is sore appaired within short time, your minde so troubled and your hart so heavie, that you hate, in a manner, all light, you like not the sight of anything that might be your comfort, but altogether stricken in a dumpe, you seeke to be solitarie, detesting all joy and delyting in sorrowe, wish with harte (if it were God's will), to make your last ende. In which your heavinesse, as I desire to be a comforter of your Grace, so I can not blame your naturall sorrowe, if that now, after declaration of the same, you would moderate all your grieffe hereafter, and call back your pensivenesse to the prescribed order of reason.

And first, for the better remedie of every disease and troubled passions, it is best to know the principall cause and chiefe occasion of the same. Your Grace had two sonnes, how noble, how wittie, how learned, and how Godly, many thousands better knowe it, than any one is well able to tell it. God, at His pleasure hath taken them both to His mercie, and placed them with Him, which were surely over good to tarie here with us.

Then, after thus expressing his sympathy with the Duchess, Wilson goes on to assure her that it is the wickedness of their day, especially in the matter of the enclosing of commons, which had caused her to be deprived of her sons.

When God therefore that is Lord not onely of the rich, but also of the poore, seeth His ground spoyled from the wholesome profite of many for the vaine pleasure of a fewe, and the earth made private to suffice the lust of unsatiable coveteousnesse, and that those which be His true members, cannot live for the intollerable oppression, the sore enhaunsing and the most wicked grasing of those throughout the whole Realme, which otherwise might well live with the onely value and somme of their landes and yerely revenues; He striketh in His anger, the innocentes, and tender younglings to plague us with the lacke of them, whose innocencie and Godlinesse of

life, might have been a just example for us, to amend our most evil doings. In which wonderfull worke of God, when He received those two noble impes and His children elected to the everlasting Kingdome. I cannot but magnifie His most glorious name, from time to time that hath so graciously preserved these two worthy Gentlemen from the danger of further evill and most vile wretchednesse most likely shortly to ensue, except we all repent and forthinke us of our former evill living. And yet I speak not this as though I knew any crime to bee more in you than in any other; but I tell it to the shame of all those universally within this Realme that are guilty of such offences, whose inward conscience condemne their own doings, and their open deedes beare witnesse against their evill nature. For it is not one house that shall feele the fall of these two Princes, neither had God taken them for one private person's offences; but for the wickednesse of the whole Realme, which is like to feele the smarte, except God bee mercifull unto us.

Therefore, whereas for a time, your Grace much bewailed their lacke, not only absenting yourselfe from all companie, but also refusing all kind of comfort, almost dead with heavinesse, your bodie being so worne with sorrowe that the long continuance of the same is much like to shorten your daies: I will desire your Grace, for God's love, to refer your will to God's will, and whereas hitherto, nature hath taught you to weepe the lacke of your naturall children, let reason teach you hereafter to wype awaie the teares, and let not phantasie encrease that which nature hath commanded moderately to use.

Then, after instancing the sorrows of animals as being short and sharp, Wilson goes on to say:

Man onely among all other, ceaseth not to favour his sorrowe, and lamenteth not onely so much as nature willeth him, but also so much as his own affection moveth him. And yet all folk doe not soe, but such as are subject to passions and furthest from fortitude of mind, as women commonly rather than men, rude people rather than Godly folke; the unlearned sooner than the learned, foolish folke sooner than wise men, children rather than young men. Whereupon we may well gather that

immoderate sorrowe is not naturall (for that which is naturall is ever like in all), but through folie mainteined, encreased by weaknesse, and for lacke of reason made altogether intollerable. Tho' I doubt not but your Grace will rather ende your sorrowe by reasone, then that sorrowe should ende you through follie, and whereas, by nature, you are a weake woman in bodie, you will shewe your selfe by reason, a strong man in heart.

God punished partly to trie your constancie, wherein I wish that your Grace may now bee as well willing to forsake them, as ever you were willing to have them. But such is the infirmities of our flesh that we hate good comfort in wordes when that cause of our comfort in deede (as we take it) is gone. And methinkes I heare you crie notwithstanding all my words: "Alacke, my children are gone." But what though they are gone? God hath called, and nature hath obeyed. Yea, you crie still, "my children are dead: Marie, therefore they lived, and blessed is their ende whose life is so Godly. Woe worth, they are dead, they are dead. It is no new thing, they are neither the first that died, nor yet the last that shall die. They lived together, they loved together, and now they made their ende both together.

Be your Grace, therefore, strong in adversitie, and pray for them that speak amiss of you, rendering good for evill, and with charitable dealing, shewe yourself long suffering, so shall you heape coales on their heads. The boysterous sea trieth the good mariner, and sharpe vexation declareth the good christian. Where battile hath not bene before, there was never any victorie obtained. You then, being thus assailed, shewe yourselfe rather stoute to withstand than weak to give over; rather cleaving to good than yielding to evill. For if God be with you what forceth who be against you?

It is characteristic of the curious mentality of those days that Wilson, who could write thus feelingly, should have taken up his residence in the Bloody Tower, when he was Secretary of State, so that he might interrogate by torture those suspected of complicity in the Duke of Norfolk's plot in favour of Mary Queen of Scots.

The idea that the sweating sickness was a visitation from God to punish England for her sins was held by a number of people besides Wilson. The following is an extract from a sermon preached by Thomas Hancock, who was minister of Poole, in Dorsetshire :

God hath plagued the Realm most justly for their sins, with three notable plagues, the first plague was a warning to England, which was the Posting Sweat, that posted from town to town through England, and was called Stop Gallant ; for it spared none. For there were some dancing at Court at nine that were dead at eleven. In the same sweat also at Cambridge died two worthy imps,* the Duke of Suffolk's sons, Charles and his brother.†

Even after the lapse of all these years one can understand the Duchess's feelings when she returned to Grimsthorpe after her bereavement. It may well have been an effort presiding once more over the great house that would never re-echo again to the sound of her children's voices.

Writing of Charles Brandon, Wilson says :

I leave you to speak of his skill in pleasant instrumentes, neither will I utter his aptness in musicke, and his toward nature to all the exercises of the body.

And there is a pathetic interest about the inventory of the clothes and belongings of the two boys that is preserved at Grimsthorpe :

An inventory of apparel and other things lent by the Duchess to her sons the Duke of Suffolk, and Lord Charles Brandon, and bought by her.

Among the Duke's effects are :

A black velvet gown, furred with sables and guarded with two passamour laces, which came in his chest from Cambridge ; a pair of crimson velvet hose with nether stockings of crimson silk ; a nightgown of black damask, furred with conie ; a velvet cap with fourteen diamonds, another velvet cap with fourteen rubies and a diamond set in gold ; a dial of bone, nine racketts and two rings " for the tylte."

* "Imp" at this time implied offspring. Leicester's son is described on his tomb at Warwick as " this noble imp."

† Strype's *Memorials*.

And among what are described as "The chattels of Lord Charles Brandon" are the following :

The wardship and marriage of Mistress Anne Waddell ; a suit of crimson satin embroidered with silver given to the Duchess by the King, with buttons of gold, a night-gown of gogram, furred with jennet ; a cape, with seventeen pair of "aglett" and sixteen buttons ; and a taffeta hat with a brooch.*

It seems probable that Agnes Woodall and Anne Waddell were one and the same person. It is certain that the former was still in the Duchess's charge.

Two months after the death of her sons, the Duchess writes to Cecil :

I thank God, good Master Cecil, for all His benefits, which it hath pleased Him to heap upon me ; and truly I take this last (and to the first sight, most sharp and bitter) punishment for the least of His benefits ; inasmuch as I have never been so well taught by any other before to know His power, His love and His mercy and my own weakness and that wretched state that without Him I should endure here. And to ascertain you that I have received great comfort in Him, I would gladly do it by talk and sight of you ; but as I must confess myself no better than flesh, so I am not well able with quiet, to behold my poor friends without some parts of those vile dregs of Adam, to seem sorry for that whereof I know I ought rather to rejoice. Yet, notwithstanding I would spare my sorrow so much but I would gladly endure it, were it not for other causes that moveth me so to do ; which I leave unwritten at this time, meaning to fulfill your last request to-morrow by seven o'clock in the morning, and then, if it please you, you may use him that I send you as if I stood by. So, with many thanks for your lasting friendship, I betake you to Him that better can, and I trust will govern you to His glory, and your best contention.

Fr. Grimsthorpe, this present Monday,
K. SUFFOLK.†

* *Ancaster MSS.*

† Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 11.

CHAPTER XXI

Reversion to the Crown of all lands granted to the Duke of Suffolk by Henry VIII—Lady Powis's attempt to obtain money under a forged will—Inventory of goods at Tattershall—The Duchess's Christmas visit to Tilsey—Letter to Cecil with a reference to Latimer—Her marriage with Richard Bertie hinted at—Latimer's visit to Grimsthorpe—His sermons there.

OF all the grants made by Henry VIII to the Duke of Suffolk, the grant of Vaudey was the only one in which the Duchess had been included ; the others had all been made to the Duke and his heirs male, and consequently they reverted to the Crown. According to the Duke's will, if his two sons died without issue, certain property was to be divided between his widow and his two daughters by Mary Tudor ; but as the law then stood, Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor, being only of the half-blood, could not inherit from their step-brothers. Such property, therefore, as did not revert to the Crown, was divided between the lineal descendants of Sir William Brandon—the grandfather of the first Duke of Suffolk—Sir Henry Sidney, William Cavendish, Thomas Glenham, Francis Kersey, Walter Ayscough, and John Tyre, of Hardwick, Gloucestershire. Lady Mounteagle died a year before her father, and Lady Powis, who was not mentioned at all in her father's will, attempted in 1552 to obtain some of his property by means of a forged document.

In May 1552, Lord Paget, Chancellor of the Duchy, Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, and Whaley, Receiver of York, were discovered to have grossly wronged the King. Beaumont bought lands with the King's money, lent

the King's money, and kept it from the King to the value of nine thousand pounds and above, and eleven thousand pounds obligations. And being judge in a cause in chancery between the Duke of Suffolk and Lady Powis, he took her title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of money, and letting her have a farm of a Manor of his ; and caused a false indenture to be made with the old Duke's counterfeit hand to it (by which pretended indenture the said Duke gave these lands to Lady Powis), and went about to make twelve men perjured, and lastly had concealed the felony of his man to the sum of twenty-two pounds.*

Lord Paget escaped very easily and was only in disgrace for a short time, but Beaumont, when his duplicity was discovered, surrendered all his lands to the King. What punishment was meted out to Lady Powis does not appear.

Tattershall Castle was part of the property that reverted to the Crown on the death of the Brandon Brothers, and there is a list at Grimsthorpe, dated 1551, endorsed "Stuff brought from Tattershall." The list mentions several sets of hangings :

Four pieces of Alexander, several of vines or vineyards, a piece of Our Lady, a piece called the story of Moses, in the which Moses standeth with the tables and the Angel maketh water issue out of the conduite, a piece called the pixes or paxes, with a woman with a chalice or pix in her hand.

One set of hangings is described as depicting hunters, another as journeying, while another set, termed the Ragged Staff, has a note to the following effect :

At first there were twelve of them, all with the ragged staff for a border ; one appearing to represent May, another with vineyards to represent August.

As a set of hangings representing the months appear among the effects of little Mary Seymour when she was

* Strype, *Memorials*.

at Grimsthorpe, it is possible that the two pieces mentioned in the Tattershall inventory were part of her property.

"Pieces of Roses and Leaves" were doubtless tapestry hangings that had belonged to Mary Tudor. They may have been the tapestries that Fuller saw in the hall when he visited Grimsthorpe in the seventeenth century, which, he says, had belonged to the French Queen.

"A tester made of cloth of estate, with rich purple frendes [fringes] of gold, curtains of an old traverse of purple sarcenet, the whole valued at forty-one pounds, a tester of the richest purple velvet, roses and percoules" [the Tudor rose and portcullis], and another tester of "roses and percoules" must equally have all belonged to Mary. "Fustian blankets" and "good blankets" of woollen are mentioned, and there are many "counterpoints of fine verdure called owtenalle," others of "dornix" of "inagerne" [ingrain], of "broad leaves," and of "linen,"* some of them being described as "valuable," some as "sore worn," and some as "skant serviceable." Turkey carpets are also mentioned.

The Duchess spent the autumn and part of the winter at Grimsthorpe, but by Christmas the first intensity of her grief must have passed. She now no longer shunned company, for she spent Christmas with the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk at Tilsey, a house which had formerly belonged to the old Marchioness of Dorset. Lady Anne Grey, the Marchioness's youngest daughter, had married Sir Henry Willoughby of Wollaton, and on their death the Duchess of Suffolk became guardian to their children. She probably represented her late husband in this office, as Lady Anne Grey had been one of Mary Tudor's ladies. Sir Henry Willoughby † was a Willoughby of Risely, and

* *Ancaster MSS.*

† By the marriage of Sir Henry Willoughby's great-granddaughter Bridget, the heiress of Wollaton, with Sir Percival Willoughby, a descendant of the Duchess of Suffolk's uncle, Sir Thomas Willoughby, the two families of Willoughby were united. Lord Middleton, the

consequently he was no relation to the Duchess. A notebook, drawn up by "old Mr. Medley," the son of the old Marchioness of Dorset by her first husband, gives the expenses of the Tilsey Christmas party. Among the diversions that were provided were "Lord Oxford's players, four hobby-horses, two dragons, four men as monkeys, and a giraffe and man that swallowed fire."

After this visit, the Duchess must have returned to Grimsthorpe; the next letter of hers that has been preserved is dated June 1552. By this time her former energy had returned, and in a postscript to the letter there is a hint that she is now contemplating the formation of fresh ties.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO WILLIAM CECIL.

By the late coming of this buck to you, you shall perceive that wild things are not ready at commandment; for truly I have caused my keeper, yea, and went forth with him myself on Saturday, after I came home, (which was a marvel for me), but so desirous was I to have a buck for Mr. Latimer to have sent after him to his wife's churching. But there is no remedy, but she must be churched without it, and yet I could not prevail afore this morning, and now, I pray God, it be anything worth.

From this passage it would seem that Latimer had been staying with the Duchess; but the reference to his wife is probably a joke, for Parsons, the founder of the Jesuit power in England, who was naturally much prejudiced, is the only contemporary writer who speaks of Latimer as being married.

But as touching your hunting here. I should be sorry that you leave it undone on any such respects as you spoke of, for I am not so uncharitable, but I can well suffer them to come and hunt in your company, yea, and would gladly wish, not for any great need, I thank God, that I have of them, but for good will that they would

representative of the Willoughby family in the male line, is their descendant.

so neighbourly use me to hunt with my license, tho' they leave not hunting whilst they left not one deer in my Park; for their honest behaviour, being my neighbours, and the worshipful of the shire, should be more pleasant to me than any sport that any wild beast in all the world could make me. Yea, and were it not for the pleasure of such, than for my own commodity, profit, or pleasure, I would not leave one such beast about me as might make any neighbour fall out with me; and that were seen adone, for I assure you, I have not, to my knowledge, two bucks more in my park. But that must not discharge you from hunting for if it please you not to take the pains to kill them, I am sure I get them not unless I kill them out of hand; wherefore I would desire you to take the pains, and take your part of them, and also you may have as good sport at the red-deer, and I pray you to take it, for I am very glad when any of my friends may have their pastime here, and nothing grieves me but when I cannot make the pastime with them. And therefore, at your pleasure, come, and bring with you whom you will, and you shall be welcome, and they also, for your sake.

From Grimsthorpe, this present Wednesday, at six o'clock in the morning, like a sluggard in my bed.

Your assured friend,*

K. SUFFOLK.

The hours for rising were very much earlier in those days than they are at the present day: four was the hour for rising in summer, and five in winter. In one of his sermons Latimer inveighs against the habit of what he terms late rising:

Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule you keep. For God's sake, hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you that ye lie abed till eight or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel you have over night, whether in banqueting, dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal, they are kept sometimes without your gates, or if they

* *Cal. S. P., Dom.* Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80, p. 41.

be let into your hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh, one or other, "Sir, ye cannot speak with my Lord yet, my Lord is asleep, or he hath had business of the King's all night."

This extract is also interesting as showing another tedious duty that her position must now have imposed upon the Duchess: listening to those who came to make petitions; many, doubtless, would wish to crave her pity and assistance.

From the reference to the red deer in the Duchess's letter, it is clear that Bytham Great Park was now her property. Although Henry III had caused the fortifications of Castle Bytham to be blown up by miners after the siege in 1221, a part of the Castle had been spared, and when, two centuries later, the male line of the Colvilles became extinct, their lands were split up between the Bassets and the Gernons. Castle Bytham passed to the Earl of Hereford through the marriage of a Basset heiress with one of the three sons of Humphrey Bohun, eighth Earl of Hereford (who married a daughter of Edward I). Only the youngest of these three Bohun brothers left a child, who became Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton. By his marriage with Joan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Hereford had two daughters, Eleanor (who married Thomas of Woodstock, the sixth son of Edward III) and Mary, who became the wife of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. Mary, Countess of Derby, died when she was only twenty-four, and her four youngest children, John, Duke of Bedford, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Blanche (who married the eldest son of the Emperor Rupert), and Philippa (who became the wife of Eric, King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), were all brought up by their grandmother, the Countess of Hereford, at Castle Bytham. Afterwards, Castle Bytham passed into the possession of Lord Hussey. Saxton, in his maps of England, dated 1574-78, marks two parks at Grims-

thorpe, the "red-dere park" and the "fallow-dere park" *; up to the last century the two herds of deer were always kept separate, the fallow deer park being the one nearest to the house, and the red deer park being the former Bytham Great Park. The park now measures sixteen miles in circumference, and embraces nearly two thousand acres.

This letter from the Duchess inviting Cecil to hunt the deer at Grimsthorpe, has a postscript to which reference has already been made :

Master Bertie is at London, to conclude, if he can with the heirs ; for I would gladly discharge the trust wherein my Lord did leave me, before I did for any man's pleasure, anything else.

It seems possible that the long visit that Latimer paid the Duchess this winter may have had something to do with the marriage that she was now contemplating with her gentleman-usher. As we have seen, Latimer and the Duchess were old acquaintances. In one of the sermons that Latimer preached before Edward VI in the Privy Gardens at Westminster, he said :

Faith is a noble Duchess, she hath ever her gentleman usher going before her, the fruits of good works, the walking in the commandments of God.

There were only two duchesses at this time, the Duchess of Suffolk and the Duchess of Somerset, and as the latter was noted for her arrogance, it seems safe to assume that Latimer had the Duchess of Suffolk in mind when he made use of this comparison. Except for a few days at Christmas, when he went to Bexterley, Latimer was the Duchess's guest at Grimsthorpe from October 1552 until January 1553, and the sermons that he preached there, which included his seven sermons on the

* Shirley, *Deer Parks* (1867).

Lord's Prayer, were subsequently printed (in 1562) by his Swiss servant, Augustine Bernher. These sermons were dedicated to the Duchess.* Like all Latimer's sermons, they are full of topical allusions :

It is a common speech among the people, and much used that they say that all religious houses are pulled down,; which is a very peevish saying, and not true, for they are not pulled down. That man and that woman that live together godly and quietly, doing their work of their vocation, and fear God, hear His word, and keep it ; that same is a religious house.

There are many people, specially widows, which would give over housekeeping, and go to religious houses when they might have done much good in maintaining of servants and relieving of poor people, but they went their ways.

It is a great gift of God to have a good servant, for the most part of servants are but eye-servants ; when their master is gone they leave off their labour, and play the sluggards.

And on St. John the Evangelist's Day, when commending the Bethlehem shepherds, Latimer says :

Now if these shepherds had been deceitful fellows that when their masters had put them in trust to keep their sheep, they had been drinking in the ale house all night, as some of our servants do now-a-days, surely the angels had not appeared unto them to have told them their great joy and good tidings.

There was evidently a Black Horse in the hamlet of Grimsthorpe in those days !

* " Here endeth the sermons upon the Lord's Prayer made by the Right Reverend Father in God, Master Hugh Latimer, before the Right Reverend, Virtuous, and Honourable Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe, the year of our Lord 1552."

" Certain other sermons preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, Master Hugh Latimer, in Lincolnshire, the year of our Lord 1553. Collected and gathered by Augustine Bernher, an Helvetian, and albeit not so fully and perfectly gathered as they were uttered, yet nevertheless truly to the regular commodity and profit of the simple and ignorant, who with fervent zeal, and diligent reading, desire to be better taught and instructed."

From the above extracts it is clear that Latimer did all in his power to help and encourage the Duchess in the discharge of her duties, but, at the same time, some of the allusions that he made to dress were very pointed. In preaching before the King he expressed strong disapproval of the head-gear that women were then wearing, and amongst the many who thronged the Privy Garden while he was preaching, there must have been several to whom the following reproaches were applicable :

They must wear French hoods, bonnets, and caps from Turquey, of velvet, and gay it must be, far fetched, and dear bought.

In 1511 it had been decreed that none below the degree of a knight might wear a foreign cap, and in 1529 a law was passed forbidding even the upper classes to spend more than two shillings on an imported cap or bonnet.

There should not be any such tussocks, or tufts to be seen as there be. If thou wilt needs lay out thy hair, or if thou wilt needs show it, and have it seen, go and poll thy head, or round it, as men do.

But at Grimsthorpe, strictures like the following could only have been addressed to the Duchess and her ladies.

The Virgin Mary had not much fine linen, she was not trimmed up as our women go now-a-days. I think Mary had never a vardingale,* for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days ; for in the old time, women were content with honest and single garments. Now they found these roundabouts they were not invented then, the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not. I will say this, and yet not judge other folks' hearts, but only speak after daily appearance and ex-

* The farthingale was invented by a Spanish princess, and called a *verdugado*, the literal meaning of which is, " fitted with ends or sticks," from *verdugo*, a rod.

perience, no doubt it is nothing but a token of pride to wear such vardingales, and therefore I think that every godly woman should set them aside.

A description of Latimer's own habitual dress has come down to us—a buttoned cap and a frock of Bristol frieze, while he carried his horn-rimmed spectacles suspended by a string from his neck. But though his figure was homely enough, there was a compelling force about Latimer which drew men to him.

“ I have an ear for other divines, but a heart for you,” writes Sir John Cheke, and at this crisis in her life the Duchess may well have derived much help and encouragement from her “ father Latimer,” as she was wont to call him.

CHAPTER XXII

Richard Bertie—His father, Thomas Bertie, stone-mason—
Employed by Wriothesley—Captain of Hurst Castle—
Richard Bertie's culture—The Duchess's second marriage—
Death of Edward VI—Imprisonment of Ridley and Latimer
—Ridley's letter referring to the Duchess's alms—The
burning of Ridley and Latimer—Augustine Bernher's
fidelity.

So long as the Duchess had her sons, her hopes and ambitions were centred in them ; but it was only natural that she should wish to marry again when her zest for life returned. She had sorely bewailed her loss, but she was only thirty-three, and, after the long feud with her Willoughby cousins, she could scarcely desire them to be her heirs. Many men doubtless were eager to become her second husband—with all the advantages that were in her power to confer, it can scarcely have been otherwise—but with the exception of the King of Poland, their names are not known. Whatever truth there may have been in the tradition that the King of Poland wished to marry her, the Duchess evidently had no desire to marry him, and the example that she was now to set of marrying a man of inferior rank was to be shortly followed by two other great ladies : her step-daughter, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and the Duchess of Somerset.

The Duchess of Suffolk's gentleman-usher, Richard Bertie, whom she now chose for her second husband, was the son of a stone-mason, and according to Harrison, a contemporary authority, masons in those days were in the lowest rank of the social scale. Day-labourers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, brickmakers, and masons, is the order in which Harrison places the different grades

of artificers, though, at the same time, he bears witness to the prosperity of masons, in consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, and the anxiety among the new owners to erect for themselves great houses. "Masonry did never flourish better than in the time of Henry VIII," says Harrison, and Thomas Bertie, Richard's father, was one of the masons that prospered.

According to the records of the Dean and Chapter, Thomas Bertie was employed at one time on work connected with the fabric of Winchester Cathedral, at a yearly fee of thirteen shillings and fourpence.

Later on, in the year 1539, when Henry VIII was erecting blockhouses at different points on the South coast, we read that :

Mr. Bertie, master carpenter, bricklayer, and master mason, is commissioned to build a blockhouse at Calshot Point, on the Solent.

The lead for this blockhouse was obtained from Beaulieu Abbey ; and while the warrant for it was made out by Wriothesley, it was signed by the Duke of Suffolk as "Justice of the Forests on this side Trent." Possibly it was his work at Calshot Point that first brought Thomas Bertie into touch with Wriothesley ; in any case, we find Wriothesley employing Bertie in 1542 to build Titchfield Place, the house which the Lord Chancellor had the temerity to embattle without the King's permission. John Crayfield writes to inform Wriothesley that he has been "conferring with Bartyew as to the wyndows and chimneys in the north aisle beneath," and in another place he states that "Bartyew concludes that smoke shall not avoyded by the chimneys of your chieffe lodgings if the steeple stand."

Writing of Titchfield Place in 1547, the Earl of Warwick* says :

My wife and Lady Clinton have been very sick, and I myself, being at the Earl of Southampton's house, felt

* Sir John Dudey, Lord Lisle, created Duke of Northumberland.

there "soche a dampish savour," that I had thought I was stricken to the heart, and ever since, I have been ill in my stomach.

Although Thomas Bertie may have failed to build a dry house for the Lord Chancellor, this connection with Wriothesley was to lay the foundations of his eldest son's fortune. In 1537 Richard Bertie, then aged sixteen, was entered at Christ Church, Oxford; on leaving the University he became a member of Wriothesley's household. As Garter House, the residence of Wriothesley's uncle, Garter-King-at-Arms, was next door to the Barbican in Cripplegate, the Duchess may have come to know Richard Bertie in this way; or the Lord Chancellor, who was one of her husband's executors, may have recommended Bertie to her. According to one account, Bertie had been trained as a lawyer. A contemporary writer gives the following description of Richard Bertie:

An accomplished gentleman, well versed in the study of the languages, being master of the French, Italian and Latin tongues, bold in discourse and quick at repartee.

Many years later, in one of her letters, the Duchess acknowledges that her second husband was "meanly born." The two years that she had spent at Cambridge, and her friendship with men like Bucer, Cheke, Haddon, and Wilson, must have radically altered her standards, whilst the care taken with the education of her sons proves that she held learning in high esteem. Latimer, whose views would carry great weight with her, probably approved of the marriage, as he himself was the son of a small yeoman farmer, so that Richard Bertie's lowly birth would constitute no bar in his eyes. Furthermore, her experience of life at Court must have taught the Duchess the precariousness of riches and honours. Only quite recently, her friend the Duke of Somerset had been beheaded on a very ill-founded charge of high treason; there were, therefore, many reasons why the

clever, serviceable, gentleman-usher, who conducted her business and who had shared her great sorrow, should seem to the Duchess a more desirable husband than an ambitious noble.

In the meanwhile, Thomas Bertie continued to prosper. In 1550 he is described as Captain of Hurst Castle, and in the following year he commissioned Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux King-at-Arms, to draw up a coat-of-arms for him. Probably this commission was given in view of the approaching marriage of his son to the widow of the late King's brother-in-law.

The Duchess of Suffolk was married to Richard Bertie at Eresby early in 1553; as Latimer was still her guest at Grimsthorpe in January, he may have officiated at the wedding. The Duchess settled Eresby on Richard Bertie at the time of their marriage, and she also handed over the wardship of Agnes Woodall to Mrs. Margaret Blakborn, who had been governess to her sons.

Agnes Woodall cannot be identified. The well-known old Surrey name of Uvedale of Titsey is sometimes written Woodhall or Woddall, but though the names of Anthony and Agnes appear in the pedigree, the dates do not fit.

Richard Bertie was thirty-five at the time of his marriage, while the Duchess was a year younger. Her second marriage seems to have been as successful as her first, although the unflattering inscription on Richard Bertie's picture at Grimsthorpe, "*Cendre Bien delguise Toutefois Cendre,*" is disconcerting, and it would be interesting to know what caused the unknown writer to feel so keenly and express so tersely that you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. As Richard Bertie outlived his wife, it could not have been written by her, but the picture is said to have come from Uffington, which was built by her descendant, Charles Bertie. Now Charles Bertie, although he lived a hundred years after the Duchess, took a keen interest in the history of his

family, and he would certainly have known any family traditions. In one respect, in any case, the Duchess was undoubtedly most fortunate, and that was in selecting this time for her second marriage. The death of Edward VI occurred six months later, and during the anxious days that followed, the Duchess may well have thought herself fortunate in having a husband to protect her. She seems to have lived on the most affectionate terms with the family of her first husband ; consequently, the brief reign and subsequent execution of her step-grandchild, Lady Jane Grey, must have been a time of acute suspense and sorrow for the Duchess, whilst the restoration of the Catholic religion and the persecution of her fellow-Protestants must have filled her with horror. Soon after Queen Mary's accession, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were sent to the Tower. Unlike her friends the Cecils, the Duchess made no attempt to conceal her opinions by conforming to the new order, and though well aware of the risks that she was courting, she subscribed liberally to the wants of the persecuted reformers.

BISHOP RIDLEY to AUGUSTINE BERNHER.*

BROTHER AUGUSTINE,

I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my Lady Grace's alms, six royals, six shillings and eightpence. I have written a letter unto her Grace, but I have made no mention thereof, whereof I desire you to render her Grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God. As for myself, I want nothing, but my Lady Grace's alms come happily to relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they have cast, and keep in prison, as I suppose you know the cause why. Farewell, brother Augustine, and take good heed, I pray you, and let my brother's case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my Lady's Grace. I would Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup had a copy of it ; for although the letter is directed to my Lady's Grace alone ; yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her Grace and to all

* Latimer's Swiss servant.

good women, which love God and His word in deed and in truth.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.*

On the cover of this letter is written :

This alms was sent him by the Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, to whom again he wrote a worthy letter which is lost, and many others to her and others.

Latimer was now treated with far greater severity than during his former imprisonment in the Tower in the reign of Henry VIII, but his old spirit never deserted him. He was allowed no fire in winter, and he sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower that "if he did not look after him better he might perchance deceive him." On being asked his meaning, he replied :

I so said indeed, for you look, I think, that I should burn, but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold.

And when he was being led through Smithfield on his way to Westminster to be examined, he "merrily observed that Smithfield had long groaned for him." But it was in the ditch at Balliol, and not at Smithfield, that Latimer spoke his last words :

We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.

The grim little statement of the expenses incurred at the burning of Ridley and Latimer reads as follows :

					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For	"three loads of wood faggots, to burn					
	Ridley and Latimer "	..	..	12	0	
Item.	"One load of furze faggots."	..	..	3	4	
Item.	"For the carriage of these four loads "	..	..	2	0	
Item.	"A post "	..	..	1	4	
Item.	"Two chains "	..	..	3	4	
Item.	"Two staples "	..	..		6	
Item.	"Four labourers "	..	..	25	2	

* *Ridley's Letters*, Parker Society, p. 382.

In consequence, probably, of his great age, death came swiftly in Latimer's case, but Ridley's tortures were very prolonged. His brother had brought him a bag of gunpowder, as was usually done, to tie round his neck, but as the faggots had been placed above the furze, they kept back the flames, and prevented them from reaching the gunpowder.

After the disputation at Oxford, Ridley and Latimer had been deprived of their servants, yet up to the time of their death, Augustine Bernher contrived to communicate with his master in spite of every obstacle. This was the only means that the two prelates had of keeping in touch with the outside world, and it is through Bernher's fidelity that Ridley's prison writings have been preserved.

CHAPTER XXIII

Birth of Suzan Bertie—Bertie's account in Foxe's *Martyrology*—Gardiner summons Bertie to appear before him in London—Charges brought against the Duchess—Bertie's refutations—His release—Obtains a warrant to travel overseas—Subsequent flight of the Duchess—Joined by Bertie—Arrival at Wesel—Inhospitable reception—Deloney's ballad—Birth of Peregrine Bertie—Commemorative tablet at Wesel.

RIDLEY and Latimer were not burnt until September 1554, but all through the gloomy year that followed Queen Mary's accession, Bertie and the Duchess must have felt anxious about their own position. Early in 1554 the Duchess gave birth to a daughter. Though the child's birthplace is not specified, Suzan Bertie must have been born either at Grimsthorpe or Eresby, and the Duchess had not long recovered when the blow fell that they had been dreading. Stephen Gardiner was now Lord Chancellor, and the Duchess's staunch Protestantism gave him a ready opportunity for venting his personal spite. What she and her husband endured owing to the enmity of Gardiner, is described by Richard Bertie in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

In the summer of 1554 the Sheriff of Lincolnshire was sent to Grimsthorpe with orders to bring Bertie to London for an interview with the Bishop. Gardiner was now living at Winchester House in Southwark, which stood next to St. Mary Overy, on the banks of the river. The first day that Bertie was brought before him the Bishop took a very high tone, and threatened to make him an example to all Lincolnshire. Fortunately though, the interview was a short one, as the Bishop was devoting the

day to prayer, and he was more gracious on the morrow. He had received a good report of Bertie from a certain Serjeant Stamford who had known him in Wriothsesley's household, and now, before starting on the subject of religion, Gardiner made what Bertie terms "a false train." He asked him about the money that the Duke of Suffolk had owed King Henry. This was a very simple matter ; Bertie had no difficulty in proving that the debt had been settled. Then the Bishop launched his attack :

I hear evil of your religion ; yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land ; and yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know of myself, and understand enough of my friends to make me your friends, wherefore I will not doubt of you. But I pray if I may ask the question of my Lady, your wife, if she is as ready now to set up the mass as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name.

Next, after quoting the Duchess's taunt when he had "veilled his bonnet" to her, in 1549, during his imprisonment in the Tower, the Bishop related the following incident :

One day, my Lord, her husband, having invited me, and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My Lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her take himself, said that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my Lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst !

These charges were answered by Bertie most diplomatically.

Of the devices of the dog, the Duchess was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship, yet, if it

would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching the setting up of the mass, which she learnt not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent, worthy men, but by universal consent, and order, the whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false christian, and to her Prince, a masking subject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed is more worth than a thousand transformed temporisers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation, where damnation is pretended !

" Yea, marry," quoth the Bishop, " that deliberation would do well if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion, wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any ! "

" For that, my Lord," said Master Bertie, " not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship's speech that religion went not by age but by truth ; and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment ! "

" I pray you," quoth the Bishop, " think you it be possible to persuade her ? "

" Yea, verily," said Master Bertie, " with the truth, for she is reasonable enough."

The Bishop thereunto replying said, " It will be a marvellous grief to the Prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race, within this land, the Queen and my Lady, your wife ; and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Bertie answered that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her. So the Bishop persuaded Master Bertie to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion ; and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The Duchess, and her husband, daily more and more by their friends understanding that the Bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways, how by the Queen's licence, they might pass the seas. Master Bertie had a ready

mean ; for there rested great sums of money, due to the old Duke of Suffolk, beyond the seas, the Emperor himself, being one of these debtors. Master Bertie communicated this his purpose, the suit for a licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the Bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the Emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the Queen, and his son.

“ I like your device well,” quoth the Bishop, “ but I think it better you tarry the Prince’s coming, and I will proclaim your letters, also to his father.”

“ Nay,” quoth Master Bertie, “ under your lordship’s correction, and pardon of so liberal a speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient, for when the marriage is consummate, the Emperor hath his desire ; but till then he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us.”

“ By St. Mary,” quoth the Bishop, smiling, “ you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the Queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand.”

Master Bertie found so good success that in a few days, he obtained the Queen’s licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and re-pass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas.

Bertie left England in June 1554, and six months later the Duchess set out to join him. The plan for her escape had been carefully arranged : as her principal escort she had a gentleman named Cranwell. This Richard Cranwell is described as having twenty pounds in land and twenty pounds in goods in the Cripplegate assessment of 1523, and as his name follows that of Lady Willoughby, he must have been an official in her household. On Lady Willoughby’s death, he may have entered her daughter’s household.

There was none of those who went with the Duchess, made privy to her going till the instant but an old gentleman, called Master Cranwell, whom Master Bertie had specially provided for that purpose. The Duchess took

with her daughter (an infant of one year), and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not adventure their fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman and a laundress.

The gentlewoman mentioned by Bertie was Mrs. Margaret Blakborn; excepting her and Cranwell, the Duchess's attendants sound singularly ill-chosen.

As the Duchess departed from her house, called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise about the house, rose, and came out with a torch in his hands, as the Duchess was yet issuing out of the gate, wherewith, being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter and a milk pot with milk in the same gatehouse, commanding all her servants to speed away before to Lion Quay. And taking with her only two women, and her child, so soon as she was forth out of her own house, perceiving the heralds to follow, stept in at the Garter-house, hard by. The herald, coming out of the Duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting), that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking the parcels left in the mail, the Duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded on her journey, she knowing only the place by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither nor any with her.

It is clear, from this account, that a herald from the neighbouring Garter House had been placed in the Barbican to mount guard over the Duchess, so evidently Queen Mary's Government was suspicious of her. There is an old print in the Ashmolean Museum which depicts the Duchess setting forth. She is walking along the river-bank, her child is being carried by a woman, while a man, intended to represent Cranwell (although Bertie says that the Duchess only kept the two women with her),

has a bundle slung on a stick over his right shoulder, and carries under his left arm a small barrel, such as were then generally carried by workmen. Boats with sails, and a covered barge, are seen plying on the river, while on one side is a railed enclosure, representing Smithfield, inside which is an inner stockade where a bonfire is burning. The bonfire signifies, no doubt, the fate that awaited the Duchess should her flight be unsuccessful. The spire of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, can be seen in the background of the print; in the foreground is the Barbican—a large, square, embattled building, with a cupola surmounted by a cross at each corner and a large flag, bearing the Ufford cross, in the centre of the building. To the left is a low, embattled tower, possibly meant to represent the Garter House, while to the right is the archway, in which the party concealed themselves when surprised by the herald.

So the Duchess appeared like a mean merchant's wife and the rest like mean servants, walking in streets unknown. She took the way to Finsbury-Fields, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion Quay, and there took a barge in a morning so misty, the bargeman was loth to launch out, but they urged him.

It is a commentary on the incompetence of the Duchess's escort that none but Cranwell knew the way to Lion Quay. By following the city walls they would reach Moorgate, and from there it was almost a direct road to London Bridge, Lion Quay being just below the bridge. When morning came the herald discovered the flight of the Duchess :

So soon as the day permitted, the Council was informed of the Duchess's departure; and some of them came forthwith to her house [the Barbican], to enquire the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods,

besides further order devised for search, and watch to apprehend, and stay her.

The fame of the Duchess's departure reached to Leigh, a town at the Land's End,* before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the Duchess, naming her Mistress White, the daughter of Master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There the Duchess reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican. When the time came that the Duchess should take ship, being constrained to lay that night in an inn at Leigh (where she was again almost betrayed), yet notwithstanding, by God's good working, the Duchess escaped that hazard. At length, as the tide, and wind did serve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind, were driven to the place whence they came; and at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting that the Duchess was in the ship; yet, having examined one of her company, that was a-land for fresh achates, and finding by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search. To be short, so soon as the Duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with "hukes"; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein, called Santon (Xanten), took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place where they might settle themselves. About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesel, under the said Duke's (Cleves) dominion, and one of the Hans towns, privileged with the steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion. They had for their minister one, Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the Duchess's hands. Master Bertie, being yet at Santon, practised with Master Perusell to obtain a protection from the magistrates, earnestly bent to show them pleasure.

* Gravesend was then called Land's End.

It is only at this point that Bertie mentions that he had joined the Duchess, and one of the Duchess's biographers, Lady Georgina Bertie, is very indignant with Lodge for inferring that Bertie had allowed his wife to travel to the Continent without his protection. Apparently, though, husband and wife had met at Billingsgate. In an account of the inquisition that was taken in Kent of their goods and chattels it is stated that Bertie and the Duchess sailed in the same ship from Gravesend on the fifth of February, 1555.

Master Bertie, being yet at Santon, practised with Master Perusell to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his abode, and his wife's, at Wesel; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the Duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure. While this protection was a seeking, there was in the meanwhile, at this town of Santon, a muttering that the Duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth. And the magistrate was not very well inclined to religion, the Bishop of Arras also being Dean of the great minister [Antoine de Perrault, Cardinal de Granvelle, Minister of Philip II], an order was taken that the Duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practise, being discovered by a gentleman of that country to Master Bertie, he without delay, taking no more than the Duchess, her daughter and two others with them, as though he meant no more than to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon, in February, on foot, without hiring of horse, or waggon for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant to get privily that night to Wesel, leaving his other family still at Santon. After the Duchess and he were one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants, (which only went with them), to villages as they passed, to hire some car for their ease, but none

could be hired. In the meantime, Master Bertie was forced to carry the child, and the Duchess his cloak, and rapier. At last, betwixt six and seven of the clock, in the dark night, they came to Wesel, and repairing to the inns for lodgings, and some repose after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment, for, going from inn to inn, offering large money for small lodging, they were refused of all the inn-holders, suspecting Master Bertie to be a lance-knight and the Duchess to be his woman. The child, for cold and sustenance, cried pitifully; the mother wept as fast; and the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour. Master Bertie, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the Duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till, by God's help, he might provide her better lodging. Master Bertie at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of evil weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian or Latin; till at last, going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house. By these boys and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first, upon the house where Master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the good man of the house himself, came to the door, and opening it, asked Master Bertie what he was. Master Bertie said: "An Englishman that sought for one Master Perusell's house." The Walloon willed Master Bertie to stay a while, and went back and told Mr. Perusell that the said English gentleman, of whom they had talked the same supper, has sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Master Perusell came to the door, and beholding Master Bertie, the Duchess and their child, their faces, apparels and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length, recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth fully joyfully, Master Bertie chang-

ing his apparel with the good man, the Duchess with the good wife, and the child with the child of the house. Within a few days after, by Master Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not let to show themselves what they were, in such sort as their present position permitted. It was by this time through the whole town what discourtesy the innholders had shown them, at their entry, insomuch, that on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit, openly, in sharp terms, rebuked that great incivility towards strangers by allegations of sundry places out of Holy Scriptures, discoursing how not only princes sometimes, are received in the image of private persons but angels in the shape of men; and that God, of his justice, would make them strangers one day, in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The inhospitable reception that Bertie and the Duchess had met with in Wesel was made the subject of a ballad, entitled "The most Rare and Excellent History of the Duchess of Suffolk, and Her Husband, Richard Bertie's calamity." Thomas Deloney, the writer, included this ballad in his book of *Strange Histories*, which was published some time before 1607, and the ballad, which was sung to the air of *Queen Dido*, became so popular that it was reprinted in the early part of the eighteenth century. The woodcut on the broadsheet shows the Duchess seated in the church porch at Wesel with her little girl in her arms. Outside the porch stands Bertie, holding a great key with which he has just been belabouring the sexton of the church for speaking rudely to the Duchess, and eight symmetrical tongues of blood are seen spurting from the man's head.

Bertie and the Duchess arrived at Wesel early in 1555, where a son was born to them in October. A monument in the porch at the east entrance of the Church of St. Willibrord, at Wesel, in commemoration of this event, has given rise to the erroneous idea that Peregrine Bertie was actually born in the church porch at Wesel on the night of his parents' arrival.

The following is a translation of a Latin entry in the registry at Wesel :

In the year 1555 from the birth of Christ Our Saviour, which is the 55234 from the beginning of the world and the 38th from the restoration of the Gospel by Mr. Martin Luther, on Saturday, the 12th of October, the most illustrious Lady Katherine, Baroness of Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk in the Kingdom of England, was, by Divine favour, in this our city of Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves, safely delivered of a son, who, on the first Monday thereafter, namely on the fourteenth of the same month, was baptized in our Church in the suburbs, called Upper Mathem, by Hen. Bonichus, Minister of that Church, under the name of Peregrine because he was given by the Lord to his pious parents in a foreign land for the comfort of their exile.

In the testimony of which we have the common seal of our city hereunto, at the request of the honourable Mr. Charles Bertie, envoy extraordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain to the Electors and other princes of Germany, at his passage through this city ; and have caused our clerk to sign the same in the place of our secretary lately deceased.

Given at Wesel the 18th of January, 1681,

Godf. Nisen, Secretary defuncti,

Amanuensis.

This same Mr. Charles Bertie, in 1681, also put up an inscription to the memory of his ancestor, the said Peregrine, in the church of St. Willibrord, in Wesel, with these arms.

A sketch of the arms borne by Peregrine Bertie, who succeeded his mother as eleventh Lord Willoughby, is given in the registry with the following memorandum :

This stone having been defaced by the destroying hand of time and by military violence, one of his descendants, who visited Germany as Royal Ambassador towards the close of the reign of Charles II, in veneration of his memory, and proud of ancestors, who had been honoured to suffer exile for the Protestant Religion, caused another stone to be substituted in its place bearing an appropriate inscription.*

* Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 60.

CHAPTER XXIV

Hint from Sir John Mason—Flight to Windsheim—Financial straits—Miles Coverdale's letter—Invitation to settle in Poland—Adventures by the way—Invested with executive powers in Poland—Three years' residence in Poland—Death of Queen Mary—The Duchess's letter to Cecil—Expostulations regarding the form of worship observed by Queen Elizabeth—Bernher's dedication to the Duchess of his collection of Latimer's sermons.

As it proved, the Duchess and her husband were not allowed to remain long in peace at Wesel. This time, however, they received timely warning. It is a proof of the esteem in which the Duchess was held that she should have had friends among Queen Mary's ministers who were so much concerned for her safety. Bertie writes :

The time thus passing forth as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watch-word came from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's Ambassador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way ; and whereas the Duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesel for the service of the house of Austria against the French King, the said Duchess and her husband, should with the same charge and company be intercepted. Wherefore, to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Master Bertie and his wife and child departed to a place called Windsheim in high Dutchland, under the Palsgrave's dominion ; where, under his protection, they continued untill their necessities began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

Unless they had been successful in wringing money out of the Duke of Suffolk's foreign creditors, Bertie and

the Duchess must now have been quite without resources, as the Duchess's lands and goods had all been sequestered. But a member of the Count Palatine's Court seems to have offered them hospitality at his Castle of Windsheim, near Heidelberg. Some years later, Christopher Mundt, English Ambassador in Germany, wrote to Cecil that on the strength of this hospitality, this nobleman, whose name is not given, desired a pension of fifty pounds a year, and admission into Queen Elizabeth's service. Mundt added that the nobleman was wise and pious, but understood neither Latin nor French. He may have been in the suite of the Count Palatine Philip when the latter visited England in 1538, and have met the Duchess then. Philip was now dead, but his elder brother the Count Palatine Otto Henry, his companion in Holbein's picture, "The Ambassadors," had just been re-established in his duchy of Bavaria, from which he had been driven for his Protestant sympathies. Bertie and the Duchess must have arrived at Windsheim at a most interesting time. In 1556 the Count Palatine undertook the reform of Heidelberg University, and appointed Melancthon and other celebrated men as professors there. He sent agents to Paris, Italy and the East to collect ancient manuscripts for the library, which became one of the most famous on the Continent, and he also beautified the Palace of Heidelberg. Otto Henry's art treasures and books have all been scattered, but his bust-medallion still crowns the grand portal of the palace, having happily survived five bombardments, two fires, and three pillages, to which the town has been subjected.

Richard Bertie is mentioned as being at Strasburg in 1556, where, in conjunction with Dr. Cox, and Dr. Sands, afterwards Archbishop of York, he was called upon to arbitrate on some religious differences which had occurred at Frankfort; these may have been caused by the presence of John Knox there. In spite of the hospitable

entertainment that they had received at Windsheim, the Duchess and Bertie were by this time so short of money that they were accused of not re-paying money that they had borrowed.

Miles Coverdale, the translator of the Bible, who was now the pastor at Wesel, writes :

With regard to the business concerning which you requested me to enquire relating to the most illustrious Duchess of Suffolk, her very distinguished husband, whom I spoke to on this subject, at Frankfort, assured me that her Grace, as far as money was concerned, owed nothing at all either to our excellent father Bucer, or to any other persons. But when I return to Wesel, from whence I must now bring up my dear wife to this place, I will make a diligent examination into the whole business.*

Though they may not have been actually in debt, Bertie and the Duchess were evidently in dire straits. The former writes :

At that time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly letters to them from the Palatine of Vilna—Count Nicholas Radzewill †—and the King of Poland, (being instructed of their hard estate by a baron, named John Alasco, ‡ that was some time in England), offering them large courtesy. This provision unlooked for revived their heavy spirits, yet, considering they should remove from many of their own countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not haunted with the English and perhaps on their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey might be worse than the beginning ; they devised thereupon with one Master Barlow, late Bishop of Chichester, § that

* *Coverdale Remains*, Parker Society, p. 528.

† The King of Poland's brother-in-law.

‡ " John Alasco was a Polish nobleman. When in England he had been an intimate friend of Cranmer, which may account for his acquaintance with Bertie and the Duchess. In his youth Alasco had been the pupil of Erasmus, but embracing the principles of the Reformation he became preacher to a Protestant congregation at Embden." —Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House* (p. 30).

§ Afterwards made Bishop of Bath and Wells by Queen Elizabeth.

if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of their journey. So finding him prone, they sent him with letters of great thanks to the King and Palatine ; and also with a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many), to solicit for them that the King would vouchsafe, under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letter offered.

The suit of the Duchess and her husband, by the forwardness of the Palatine, was as soon granted as uttered ; upon which assurance, the said Duchess with her husband and family, entered the journey in April 1557, from the Castle of Windsheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort ; in the which their journey, it were long to describe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reason of their landgrave's captain, who under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Master Bertie's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar spears through the waggon where the children and women were, Master Bertie having but four horsemen with him. In the which brabble, it happened the captain's horse to be slain under him. Whereupon a rumour was sparsed immediately through the towns and villages about, that the landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which incensed the ire of the countrymen there more fiercely against Bertie, as it afterwards proved. For as he was motioned by his wife, the Duchess, to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he, so doing, was in a worse case than before ; for the townsmen and captain's brother, supposing no less than that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon Master Bertie that he had been there taken, and murdered among them, had he not (as God would), spied a ladder leaning to a window. By the same he got up into a house, where he, with his dagger and rapier, defended himself for a space ; but at length, the burgomaster, coming thither with another magistrate, which could speak Latin, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the law. Master Bertie, knowing himself clear and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the

magistrate would receive him under safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which, being promised, Master Bertie put himself, and his weapon into the magistrate's hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tried. Then Master Bertie, writing his letters to the Landgrave, and to the Earl of Erpach, the next day, the Earl of Erpach, who dwelt within eight miles, came to the town, whither the Duchess was brought with her waggon, Master Bertie also being in the town, under custody. The Earl, who had some intelligence of the Duchess before, after he was come, and had showed such courtesy as he thought to her estate was seemly, the townsmen, perceiving the Earl behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter; and further, understanding the captain to be alive, both they, and the authors of the stir, shrank away, and made all the friends they could to Master Bertie and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort. And thus Master Bertie and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey towards Poland, where, in conclusion, they were quietly entertained of the King [Sigismund Augustus], and placed honourably in the Earldom of the said King of Poland, in Samogitia, called Crozen, where Master Bertie, with the Duchess, having the King's absolute power of government of the said Earldom, continued both in great quietness, and honour.*

After all their trials and adventures, it must have been a great relief to Bertie and the Duchess to find this haven in Poland. They must have been quite at the end of their resources by now, and, at this distance, they could scarcely have received any supplies from England, even if there were any to send. It does, however, seem most surprising that the King of Poland, even though he may have wanted to marry the Duchess in former days, should now not only support her and her husband, but should also invest them with executive

* Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1849 edition), Vol. XVIII, pp. 569-575.

powers. The Duchess's faith cannot have been the explanation, for—though Count Nicholas Radziwill, the King's brother-in-law, who was the Palatine of Vilna, had done much to encourage the spread of Protestantism in Lithuania, the province bordering on Samogitia—religious toleration existed at this time in Poland, where Lutherans, Protestants, and Catholics all dwelt side by side. It is more probable that the trust reposed in her and her husband was due to the economic condition of the country. Ninety years previously the Treaty of



Thorn had restored the mouth of the Vistula to Poland, and the development in agriculture which had resulted made Poland an exporting country. The nobles suddenly became rich, but the status of the peasants had been very much lowered in order that the cultivation of the soil might be fostered. In such a state of society, the experience and organizing powers of Bertie and the Duchess may well have proved of great value.

They were still leading this peaceful and presumably useful life when the news of Queen Mary's death reached

them. Considering that the Queen only died on the seventeenth of November, 1558, it seems very remarkable that the Duchess should have had time to send New Year gifts to her successor. The Duchess's presents to Queen Elizabeth were a cushion "all over richly embroidered, and set with pearls," and the Book of Ecclesiasticus "covered with purple velvet, garnished, and clasped with silver, and gilt." On the twenty-fifth of January, 1559, the Duchess wrote to the Queen from Crozen in Samogitia, to congratulate her on her accession; as the letter is a very long and stereotyped production, full of Biblical allusions, it may well yield space to the following letter to Cecil:

The hand within the letter seemed to be my lady, your wife's, the subscription, Sir William Cecil's, but howsoever it may be, it is all one. Would to God all our nations were likewise one in Jesus Christ, nay, if there be but eleven about Her Majesty's person that savour one thing in Him, she is happy and the whole realm. But alack, the report is otherwise, which is an intolerable heaviness to such as love God, and her. You, and such as should be spurred, holding her of her good inclination, running most back, among which you are specially named. Wherefore, for the love I bear you, I cannot forbear to write it, even if it ill please you, to hear a simple woman's mind. Undoubtedly the greatest wisdom is to be not too wise, which of all others, you should, by experience, know. For if there was anything whereby that good Duke, your old master, deserved and felt the heavy stroke of God, what is there else whereof men may accuse him but only, that when God had placed him to set forth His Glory (which yet of himself he was always ready to do), but still being plucked by the sleeve by worldly friends for this wordly respect or that, in fine gave over his hot zeal to set forth God's true Religion as he had most nobly begun, and turning him to follow such worldly devices, you can as well as I, tell what came of it. The Duke lost all he sought to keep with his head to boot, and his counsellors slipped their collars, and turned their coats, and have served since to play their part in many

other matters. But to beware in time is good, for though God wink at them, He sleepeth not, and will undoubtedly at length, pay such turncoats home. Wherefore I am forced to say with the Prophet Elie, "How long halt ye between two opinions?" If the mass be good, tarry not to follow it, nor take from it no part of honour which the last Queen, in her notable stoutness, brought it to, and left it in, wherein she deserved immortal praise, seeing that she was so persuaded it was good. But if you be not so persuaded, alas, who will move the Queen to honour it with her presence, or any of her counsellors. Well, it is reported here that Her Majesty tarried not the Gospel, and departed. I pray God that no part of the report was true for in consequence, there is few of you can excuse yourselves but that you know there is no part of it good after that sort as they use it. For the very Gospel had there is unprofitable, or rather an occasion of falling to the multitudes, which hearing it, and not understanding it, taketh it rather for some holy charm than any other thing. Saints' faces may in Lent be covered, and it were good they were always so, but where Christ is, He is bare faced, and especially where He hath been openly preached at noon days, and He should not be brought in here again, hooded. To build surely, is first to lay the chief corner stone. To-day, not to-morrow. There is no exception, by man's law that may serve against God's. There is no fear of innovation by restoring old good and repealing the new evil, but it is to be feared, men have so long worn the Gospel slopewise that they will not gladly again have it straight to their legs. Christ's plain coat without seam, is fairer to the eye than all the jags of Germany. This I say for it is also said here that certain "Duchers" should commend to us the Confession of Augsburg* as they did to the Poles, where it was answered by a wise counsellor that neither Augsburg, nor Rome, was their ruler but Christ, who had left His Gospel behind Him, a ruler sufficient and only to be followed. I have thus written after my old manner, which I hope you will take as friendly and thankfully as I mean it; though I will say to you as my father Latimer was wont to say to me, "I will be bold to write to you another time

* *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, p. 123.

as I hear, and what I think ; and if not, I shall hold my peace, and pray God to amend it." *

It is evident that the Duchess had kept herself in touch, during her exile abroad, with the different religious controversies that were then being waged, and in this letter to Cecil—probably the first that she had written him for some time—she shows how anxious she was that he should cease prevarication, and declare his faith boldly. The sentiments that she expresses prove that she herself did not shrink from asserting her own religious principles, regardless of the consequences. In *Lives of the Queens of England*, Miss Strickland unjustly contends that the Duchess did not deserve her place in the *Martyrology*, as it was Queen Mary's anger at her marriage with Richard Bertie that caused her flight from England. But if further proof were needed of the sincerity of her faith, it is furnished by the dedication that Augustine Bernher addressed to the Duchess in 1562, when he published more of Latimer's sermons :

" I have set forth these sermons, made by this holy man of God, and dedicated them to your Grace, partly because they were preached in your Grace's house at Grimsthorpe by this reverend father and faithful prophet of God, whom you did nourish, and whose doctrine you did most faithfully embrace, to the praise of God and unspeakable comfort of all Godly hearts, the which did with great admiration, marvel at the excellent gifts of God, bestowed upon your Grace, in giving unto you such a princely spirit, by whose power and virtue, you were able to overcome the world, to forsake your possessions, lands and goods, your worldly friends and native country, your high estate and estimation with which you were adorned and to become an exile for Christ and His Gospel's sake ; to choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience, esteeming the rebukes of Christ greater riches than the treasures of England, whereas the worldings are

* The statement of Lutheran Faith that was presented to Charles V. at Augsburg on June 25th, 1530.

far otherwise minded ; for they have their pleasures among the pots of Egypt, they eat, drink and make merry, not caring what became of Christ, or his Gospel ; they be so drunken with the sweet delicates of this miserable world that they will not taste of the bitter morsels, which the Lord hath appointed and prepared for His chosen children and especial friends. Of the which he did make you most graciously to taste, giving unto your Grace His spirit that you were able in all the turmoils and grievances the which you did receive, not only at the hands of those who were your professed enemies but also at the hands of them which professed friendship and good-will but secretly wrought sorrow and mischief ; to be quiet and patient and in the end, brought your Grace home again to your native country, no doubt to no other end but that you should be a comfort to the comfortless and an instrument by which His Holy name should be praised and His gospel propagated and spread abroad ; to the glory of His Holy name and your eternal comfort in Christ Jesus, into whose merciful hands I commit your Grace with all yours eternally.

CHAPTER XXV

Drew's play *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*—Performed at the Fortune Theatre, Cripplegate—Local associations—Plot founded on Bertie's story in the *Martyrology*—Drew's allusions to the prisons in Southwark.

THE dangers and privations suffered by the Duchess for her religion evidently made a deep impression as, besides Deloney's broadside, *The Duchess of Suffolk's Calamity*, a play was written on the subject, some forty years after the Duchess's death. Classical subjects were now beginning to pall upon the public, and a desire had arisen for stories dealing with real people. The play is entitled *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*; the only information given on the title-page is as follows :

This Play has been divers times acted with good applause.

The names of the author and the publisher are both omitted, and until the publication of Sir Henry Herbert's *Revels Book*,* the play was always attributed to Thomas Heywood. But there is this entry in Herbert's *Revels Book* :

For the Palsgrave's Company. *The History of the Duchess of Suffolk*, which being full of dangerous matter, was much reformed by me. I had two pounds for my pains ; written by Mr. Drew.

Thomas Drew, who is thus proved to have been the author of *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, is mentioned in 1611 as being one of the actor-sharers of Queen Anne

* The Post at Court of Master of the Revels was only abolished in 1782.

of Denmark's company at the Red Bull. One other play, *The Bloody Banquet*, is also attributed to him. He wrote *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* for the Fortune Theatre in Cripplegate, the theatre which was to make the fortune of another actor, Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College. In 1623, the year that *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* was produced, the Fortune Theatre had only just been rebuilt after a fire, and, though it may only have been a coincidence, it is possible that the Duchess's adventures were chosen on account of their local interest. The Barbican, where the play opens, was the principal house in Cripplegate. In 1623 it had been recently sold to the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Bridgewater, but up to this date it had belonged for over two hundred years to the Duchess's family. Thomas Delony was an inhabitant of Cripplegate when he wrote *The Duchess of Suffolk's Calamity*, and Foxe, the compiler of the *Martyrology*, lived in Grub Street, which was also in Cripplegate, so evidently writers and public alike took an interest in their neighbours' doings. Drew's play is founded on Bertie's story in the *Martyrology*. It would be interesting to know the nature of the "dangerous stuff" that Sir Henry Herbert reformed. As Gardiner and Bonner are made butts of all through the play, the dangerous matter can hardly have had anything to do with the Roman Catholic religion. Dr. Sands, the Archbishop of York, is one of the principal characters. According to Strype, Sands and Bertie had been fellow-prisoners in the Marshalsea, and as the Marshalsea was in Southwark, it is quite possible that Bertie was imprisoned there when he was brought to London to be interviewed by Gardiner. The escape of Sands from prison was connived at, but a warrant for his re-arrest was issued soon after, and Strype says that "Master Bertie" hid him for six days in his house in Mark Lane. Bertie may have lodged in Mark Lane when he was arranging his own escape to the Continent.

A few extracts from the play may now be given. It was written some seventy years after the events that it dramatises, but doggerel though it is, the play has a certain interest from the picture that it gives of the life of the day. The first scene takes place in a room at the Barbican. The Duchess comes in attended by Cranwell, Richard Bertie, and other gentlemen, her train being borne by a gentlewoman; Foxe, another gentleman usher, announces her entry.

Foxe : Knights, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, Attend Her Grace's service, she'll abroad.

Cranwell : Be uncovered, Gentlemen.

Foxe : Room there. Back Beggars.

Duchess : Bertie, deal mine alms.

Bertie : Pray for the Duchess, friends.

Beggars : Heaven preserve your Grace. *Exeunt Beggars.*

A messenger enters with a letter which he presents to the Duchess kneeling.

Duchess : What saiest thou? From my King? I kiss
his lines

As humbly as my infant penitence

When due correction threatened mine offence.

I may entreat the Palatine with grace

All courtesie and favours, for my soveraignes sake

I will present him with smooth countenance

But for the point here touching marriage

Beseech my Prince of pardon, since as yet

My widowes tears are scarce wipt from my cheek.

Touching the buisness bout Sir Roger Willoughbie

My dearest, neare kinsman, I'll not return you

Empty handed back, but send

His Highness Parham Lordship to dispose

And thank his gracious providence for him

And say, my whole possessions are all his.

Bertie, reward his paines, or

Stay, and know the reason of this guard.

Enter Gardiner, being led to the Tower.

Duchess : Screen not my joyes, I pray stand all aside,
My gossip Gardiner led unto the Tower.
Truth now, I hope, have got a holiday
The tyrant wolf in hould, the lambs may play.

Exit Gardiner.

Enter Bonner guarded to prison.

Foxe : Bonner commanded to the Marshalsea.

Duchess : Faggots will then grow cheap. They say, my
Lord

That you have brought up all our firewood
To send us in a shining flame to Heaven.

Bonner : For time is rich in ransom, she may raise
The scorned and captive Bonner, ware those days.

Duchess : If England's sin deserve that curse again
Doubtless my life the truth would still maintain.

Every one now leaves the stage except the Duchess and Bertie, and a love-scene follows, which is interrupted by the arrival of the King of Poland, the Earl of Arundel, the Count of Ernach, and the Duke of Northumberland. The Earl of Arundel bids the Duchess say which of the two she wishes to have for her husband, the King or the Count, and the Duchess announces that she has fixed her choice on Bertie. Arundel terms her " Madcap Duchess," but Northumberland is more complimentary, and concludes his speech in these words :

Wishing of Heaven to smile upon your loves ;
That from them may grow up such gallant spirits
As may renown this land with honoured merits.

They were no doubt intended by Drew to be a delicate compliment to the military achievements of the Duchess's son, Peregrine Bertie, eleventh Lord Willoughby, and of her grandson Robert Bertie, first Earl of Lindsey.

In the play Bertie is readily granted leave to travel overseas by Bonner and Gardiner, as they agree that his absence will make it easier for them to take vengeance on the Duchess. After Bertie's departure, Gardiner gives

the following directions to a parator (herald) named Clunie :

Gardiner : Follow him, Clunie, and when thou thinkest
The solemn farewell of divorced lips
Hath part this husband from his honoured wife,
With some especial servants of the Queen
Enter the Duchess' house in Barbican,
Take a true inventory of all her goods,
Discharge her household save a man or two,
One woman and the nurse who suckles the child,
And say you have commandment from the Queen
To stay there till Her Highness' further pleasure
That she shall walk the highway to the Tower.

But apparently it was the Duchess who had to undertake the unpleasant task of discharging her staff. Two members of her household discuss their dismissal as follows :

Foxe (gentleman usher) : Now, Thomas ?
What will you do now, Thomas ?
Your mistress has discharged you, Thomas.
Which was as dear to you as your skin, Thomas.
It is pulled over your ears, what remedy ?
Has Foxe ne'er a hole to hide his head in these
extremities ?
Now I remember my cousin Raynauld lives not far
from hence,
To him I'll make repair and feed on country poultry
For awhile, till I can cry Vindicta on this Duchess.
Well, what I'll do my thought not yet approves,
Foxe will prove true to trust, not else to love. *Exit.*

A cry within : Follow—follow.

Enter Hugh Tiler and Jenkin going to work with a tray of tiles and a ladder.

Tiler : Jenkin, where art thou ; hark what kennel of
hounds
Gives us our welcome into Kent ?
Set up. Come, and to this gete

Stamp the frost out of thy feet into

This mortar for me.

I'll catch me a heate, or I'll beat it out of the stones.

Beats his fingers against his sides.

Jenkin : A good fire would do better with the finger ends.

Tiler : But a pot of ale, and toast would do best of all

With a cold stomach over go to the Cock,

And see if he cam a' kind of his ale well

Make a man crow, we'll leave our employment here

They will not run away, and here's no great crowd.

A cry without : Follow, follow.

Dr. Sands enters flying before his pursuers, and seeing the ladder mounts up to the roof.

Jenkins : Come away, Hugh the tiler,

Now we have lined our backs and warmed our bellies

Let's do our day's work in an hour

And drink ourselves drunk all the day after.

Tiler : Why the Cock ale has spurred thee already.

Jenkin : Thou art a coxcomb to say so, I will run up and

Come down my ladder as nimble as a squirrel.

Tiler : For going up, I know not, but

Thou'll not come down

With thy head forward.

Jenkin : Why then that's trick more than ever thou sawest

In thy life, oh, in my ale, I can do

Anything, tumble like an elephant.

At this point the conversation is interrupted by Clunie the parator, who questions the two workmen about Sands. When they deny having seen him, Clunie arrests them ; as they are being marched off the Duchess enters. She is dressed like a citizen's wife and is accompanied by Cranwell :

Duchess : Cranwell.

Cranwell : Madam ?

Duchess : Speak softly, where is nurse ?

Speak softly, prithee Lord, why loiters she, but

Call her not ; soft, soft, what creaking

Shoes hast thou got, Cranwell, to betray our
Fears, put off them traitors.

Cranwell : Madam ?

Duchess : Thou speakest too loud.

Cranwell : Neither my tongue, nor shoe, can reach an ear.

Duchess : Yes, Cranwell, but they do of jealous fear

My life is on the hazard of this game.

Here the nurse and child appear, and as Clunie has now given the alarm at Garter House, the party separates. The Duchess takes the child and goes unattended.

Duchess : Here are two pilgrims bound to Lion's Quay
And neither knows one footstep of the way.

Still I look back, still start my weary feet,
Which never till now did measure London street,
My honours scorned that custom, they would ride.
Now forced to walk, more weary pain to bide.
Thou shalt not do so, child, I'll carry thee
In sorrow's arms to welcome misery,
Custom must steel thy youth with pinching want,
That thy great birth in age may bear with scant.

From this speech it is clear that no great lady ever walked in the streets of London in the reign of James I, even though coaches had not yet been introduced, and it would explain the Duchess's ignorance of the way to Lion Quay, where they were to embark.

In the play the adventures that befell Bertie and the Duchess abroad are even more perilous than those described in the *Martyrology*. Bonner is represented as pursuing them relentlessly, but Foxe, the Duchess's late gentleman-usher, though ostensibly assisting in the pursuit, invariably comes to the rescue of the Duchess when her plight becomes desperate. There is a great deal of rough horseplay and much punning which the play-going public of those days seems to have appreciated as much as review-goers do nowadays. When Bertie and the Duchess arrive at Wesel, Erasmus, not Perusell, is

represented as coming to their assistance ; and when they are forced to flee again, Bertie, on one occasion, is smuggled through his enemies in a coffin that has been sent for the body of a young count who died abroad.

The concluding lines of the play, describing the Duchess's home-coming, have references to the prisons of the Marshalsea and the King's Bench. Drew must have had some object in drawing attention to the abuses then rife in these prisons, but, considering that the Duchess's first husband succeeded his uncle, Sir Thomas Brandon, as Marshal of the King's Bench Prison, and that Suffolk Place in Southwark had been her London home for two years after her marriage, her ignorance of these places seems scarcely credible.

Enter Lord Hunsdon, Admiral with staves, Gentlemen attendants.

Admiral : Who wast that said the Duchess came through Southwark ?

Hunsdon : 'Twas the Lord Clinton.

Clinton : I left Her Grace now at St. George's Church
Accompanied with Mr. Richard Bertie, With Dr.
Sands, Cranwell, and trusty Foxe And diverse Other
gentlemen attendants.

Admiral : Here at the Marshalsea, We'll stay their coming
And hark ! Her trumpets sound her near approach.
Lords, Knights, Ladies, I pray you all
To be officious in the entertain
Of this renowned Lady Katherine.

Enter in state the Duchess, Bertie, Sands, Cranwell and Foxe.

A cry within : Heaven preserve your Grace.

Duchess : What prison call you this ?

Cranwell : The King's Bench, Madam, where all these
Prisoners are detained for debt.

Duchess : If they be unable to make satisfaction, and will not
They are worthy to lie here.
But if by cruelty of creditors
'Tis Christian charity to succour such.

- Sand* : I have heard some lie there in policy
And have engrossed into their greedy hands
The goods of diverse thrifty men
And though well able, yet they will not pay.
- Duchess* : Great pity that such men escape unpunished.
But are they in the number that do beg ?
- Sands* : Nay, Madam, they are laid on bed of down,
Fare dainty, and never taste of want of liberty,
Except it be the want of liberty
And that's no want, because they have large walks
As yards and gardens and fair bowling alleys,
With company at will to spend the time.
- Duchess* : To them we wish a better conscience
But to the poor, and such as want indeed
One of you give amongst them forty angels.
My troubles make me sensible of theirs.
Distress is sharply set, and bites too sore
To be endured by such as are true poor.
Forward, Gentlemen.
- Foxe* : Room for the Lord.
- Admiral* : Thrice welcome is the noble Suffolk's Duchess
To us, and to her Royal Majesty
In whose high favour you are highly placed.
- Clinton* : In sign whereof her princely Majesty
Restores you to your ancient signories.
Entitles you as due to you by titles
Baroness of Willoughby, and Eresbie,
Duchess Dowager of Suffolk,
Her Highness's nearest, and most dearest subject.
- Hunsdon* : Your goods and lands, extracted violently
Her Majesty restores to you again
Here's the true inventory of them all
As they were eased into the Bishop's hands.
- Admiral* : And that you build on her princely love,
It is her pleasure Mr. Richard Bertie,
The husband of your troubles, and your cares,
Should be chief secretary to the State
Till higher titles do advance his worth.
- Bertie* : An honour, my good Lord Admiral
That I esteem, and yet desire it not.
Oh be it not offensive to Her Grace

That I have leave to lead a private life,
After painful travels in strange lands.

Admiral : Enjoy your mind's contentment with your
mind.

Hunsdon : You, Dr. Sand, Her Highness and the Clergy
Do consecrate Archbishop of York.

Sands : An honour far exceeding my deserts.

Clinton : Master Richard Cranwell, Gentleman usher to
her Grace,

Her Highness will retain in self-same place
To attend Her Majesty.

Cranwell : With all my heart, I humble tender a true
subject's thanks

Yet it may please Her Royal Majesty
Since I have served my Lady in distress,
Endured so many troubles for her sake
That I may live and die in serving her.

Enter prisoner with a box.

Prisoner : Madam, be good unto a company of poor
prisoners.

Duchess : What other prison, Cranwell, call you this ?

Cranwell : This is the prison of the Marshalsea
Chiefly pretended for Her Majesty's Household
But there are divers other prisoners here.

The merchant Gosling now appears, who has been
imprisoned in the Marshalsea all this time for assisting
the Duchess in her escape. His release is arranged by
the Duchess :

Duchess : And now his troubles make me call to mind
The faithful dealing of my servant Foxe.
See Lords ! A man whom I dismissed my service
More through self-will than any just offence.
Yet hath he quitted that disgrace so well
That I admire the strangeness of his art.
For Bonner used him as a special means
To seek my life, which often times he saved
Paying my great unkindness with kind love
Many such servants may this land afford
That use their wits to such good purposes.
Here as a part of thy reward

I freely give thee a hundred pounds a year
And when I die, my land shall make it good.

Foxe : And when Foxe fail you, let me die in the ditch.

Duchess : Gramercies, gentle servants, now my Lords,
Lets bend our pace towards famous London Bridge.
How pleasing is the prospect of the City
Now I have been five years a stranger here
Show me the way to Whitehall to Her Grace
That I may see my loving Sovereign's face.

CHAPTER XXVI

Restoration of the Duchess's goods and lands—Second marriage of Frances Duchess of Suffolk—Marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Lady Katherine Grey—Their imprisonment—Lady Katherine's death—Lady Mary Grey's marriage with Serjeant Keyes—Her confinement at Chequers—Given over to the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk—The Duchess's appeal to Cecil for necessities for Lady Mary—Lady Mary transferred to the keeping of Sir Thomas Gresham—Complaints of the Greshams—Lady Mary's release.

A MEASURE was introduced in Parliament in 1555 for confiscating the estates of Protestant refugees, and though, owing to the protests of Cecil, the Bill was thrown out, a Commission consisting of Sir Edward Montagu and others was appointed to "find an office" of all goods, cattle, and lands belonging to Bertie and the Duchess, as they had "contemptuously departed the realm without licence." * For a like offence Mrs. Margaret Blakborn was deprived of the wardship and marriage of Agnes Woodall. Nothing further is known of the subsequent fate of these two, though a boy named Anthony Blakborn is mentioned in the Duchess's Household Accounts as one of the "children of honour." On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Bertie and the Duchess received back all their property; they did not return to England until the summer of 1559, so that there may have been some delay in the matter, in which case pecuniary considerations would account for their delay. One of their first acts, after their return, was to take out letters of naturalization for their little son, Peregrine.

During their absence abroad, Lady Powis, the

* Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 499.

Duchess's stepdaughter, had died. Machyn, in his Diary, records her burial in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Another stepdaughter, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, had married a second time. Her first husband, the Duke of Suffolk, had been pardoned by Queen Mary for setting his own daughter, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne, but had the temerity to rebel a second time, and he was taken prisoner after Wyatt's Rebellion, and beheaded on Tower Hill. "For his harmless simplicity neither mis-liked nor much regarded," * is the tepid description that John Hayward gives of the Duke. His head could formerly be seen in the Church of the Holy Trinity, in the Minories.† It was discovered in a small vault near the altar, preserved in tannin; the aquiline nose and arched eyebrows correspond exactly with Marc Gheeraedts's portrait of him at Hatfield. As it was during the Duke's tenancy of the monastery of Sheen that the body of James IV, which had been brought there after Flodden, was thrown out into a lumber-room, it seems a case of just retribution that the Duke's head should have remained exposed to the public gaze all these years. His widow quickly consoled herself. Three weeks after the Duke's execution, she married Adrian Stokes, her groom of the chambers. "What, has the woman so far forgotten herself as to mate with a common groom?" was Princess Elizabeth's comment when the news was told her. And though it has been suggested in excuse of this haste that the Duchess married beneath her in terror lest designs on the throne might be imputed to her, the fact remains that the first child of this second union might have claimed the paternity of the Duke had it been born alive. Queen Mary signed the death warrant of three members of the Grey family: the Duke of Suffolk, his brother Lord Thomas Grey, and his daughter Lady Jane

* John Hayward, *Life of Edward VI.*

† This church is now used as the parish room of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and the Duke of Suffolk's head has been placed in the vestry of the latter church.

Grey, but she was most gracious to the survivors. She permitted the Duchess and Adrian Stokes to stay on at Sheen, while the Duchess's two younger daughters, Lady Katherine and Lady Mary Grey, lived with the Queen at Court, where they were allowed their proper precedence. The advent to the throne of Queen Elizabeth was anything but a blessing to the sisters. Following the example of his father, Edward VI had settled the succession on Mary Tudor's descendants, to the exclusion of the Stuarts, and Elizabeth's vindictive behaviour to the Greys can only be explained by her jealous fears lest they might succeed her. And there was a very unfortunate incident at the outset. A design was formed by the Spaniards to marry Lady Katherine Grey either to the Archduke Ferdinand or to Don Carlos, and they even went so far as to sound Cecil on the subject. A rumour of these negotiations reached the Queen, and, not unnaturally, she was very indignant. In 1559 the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Protector's son, was anxious to marry Lady Katherine, and upon her return from abroad that summer Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, was consulted. She expressed full approval of the marriage, but advised that the matter should be referred to the Queen before anything definite was settled. A letter was drawn up by the Earl and Adrian Stokes, and submitted to Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, at the Barbican, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, being ill at the time. But, unfortunately, when the moment came for the Earl of Hertford to deliver it to the Queen, his courage failed him, and heedless of a warning from Cecil, who had not forgotten the Queen's wrath over the Spanish marriage, the young couple were secretly married at the Earl's house in Channon Row, Whitehall. The secret soon leaked out, and Elizabeth was furious. "It was bad enough," she declared, "to have Lady Katherine to deal with, let alone her brats," and the unfortunate couple were packed off to the Tower. Three children were born to them during

the three years that they spent there, and then, in 1562, Lady Katherine was removed to Norfolk, to the house of Lord John Grey, her uncle, who had been made Lord Grey of Pirgo.

The Council wrote to Lord John :

The removal of Lady Katherine is due to Her Majesty's compassionate desire to place her out of danger of the plague by which the Tower is now environed, which privilege, Her Majesty has, upon much humble suit, also granted to the Earl of Hertford, meaning not that Lady Katherine should be at any further liberty thereby, but only to be free from the place of danger.*

Lady Katherine was to hold intercourse with no one outside Lord John's household without the Council's express permission, " which Her Majesty meaneth Lady Katherine to understand, and observe as some sort of her punishment, and therein Her Majesty meaneth to try her disposition towards patience."

Lady Katherine was, therefore, still a prisoner, and a prisoner she remained up to the time of her death, which occurred six years later. Her husband survived her fifty-one years. In spite of great pressure, he always stoutly refused to repudiate her, and husband and wife now rest together in Salisbury Cathedral, under a huge canopied tomb. The tomb and Lady Katherine's pompous epitaph little reflect her miserable, thwarted existence. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, died before Lady Katherine's marriage, and consequently she was spared the misery of seeing a second daughter immured in the Tower. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, in St. Edmund's Chapel, where the monument erected to her memory can still be seen. Her funeral service was the first occasion on which the Communion Service was read in English. The life of Lady Mary Grey, the Duchess's youngest daughter, was nearly as unhappy as that of her sisters. In 1565, five years after the Hertford

* *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, p. 230.

marriage, Lady Mary fell in love with Thomas Keyes, the Serjeant Porter of the Water Gate at Westminster, and at nine o'clock one night she was secretly married to him in his chamber over the Gate. Thomas Keyes, a relation of Sir Francis Knollys, the Treasurer of the Queen's Household, was tall and handsome, but he was twice as old as Lady Mary, and was a widower with several children. Writing of the marriage, Fuller says :

Frightened by the infelicity of her two elder sisters, Lady Mary forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love, and none could fear.

But any marriage on Lady Mary's part was sufficient to arouse the Queen's anger, and the poor bride, who was very small and delicate, was pitilessly attacked.

Cecil writes :

Here is an unhappy chance, and monstrous. The Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this Court, hath secretly married Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the Court. They are committed to several prisons. The offence is very great.

An even graver view was taken by Lord Howard of Effingham, who seems to have thought that Lady Mary's ill-advised marriage might be the ruin, not only of the Queen, but also of the country. Thomas Keyes was imprisoned in the Fleet, where he was most rigorously treated. He displayed none of Lord Hertford's fidelity, but Grindall, Bishop of London, maintained that it would not be legal to annul the marriage. The place where Lady Mary was confined first of all is not specified, but it must have been the Tower ; after a brief imprisonment there, she was handed over to the charge of Thomas Hawtrey of Chequers, where the prison-like rooms that she occupied can still be seen. Strict injunctions were given to Hawtrey that Lady Mary was not to go abroad, and that she was not " to hold conference " with any one. She remained with Hawtrey until the summer of 1567. The original

plan was that she should now be given over to the keeping of the Duchess of Somerset, who, in spite of her pride, had demeaned herself by marrying Newdegate, her secretary. But finally it was decided, evidently at very short notice, that Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, should be the goaler of her step-grandaughter. Thomas Hawtrey delivered over his charge to the Duchess at The Minories, a house, which by rights, now belonged to Lady Mary's sister, Lady Katherine.

Hawtrey writes :

The Duchess enquired of me where my Lady Mary's furniture was, as she had nothing to dress her chamber with. The Duchess said that she herself, lived in Lincolnshire, and when she came to London, she borrowed stuff of Lady Eleanor [Clifford], consequently, if she was to receive Lady Mary, she would be forced to borrow from her neighbours at the Tower.

The following day, the ninth of August, the Duchess wrote from the Queen's House, at Greenwich, to Cecil, who was then attending the Queen on her progress. The Duchess explains that as Hawtrey brought Lady Mary just as she was leaving London, she was forced to spend the night there, and that now she has brought Lady Mary with her to Greenwich. She then goes on to complain of her lack of furniture in London and at Greenwich.

All that I and my husband had left, when we returned from abroad, scarce sufficed for our houses in Lincolnshire. We had meant at this time, to buy some new, if our purses could afford it. All this, by reason of my trouble with my son's sickness, and other chances of my maid's death,* the one driving me from London, the other making me to have no care, or joy of anything, hath made me the more unprovided. But the special cause is lack of money. I have been obliged to tell Mr. Hawtrey how matters stood, and to beg him that Lady Mary's furniture might be sent before she herself made her appearance,

* Suzan Bertie.

that a chamber might be in readiness for her. But would God you had seen what stuff it was. Lady Mary had nothing but an old livery bed without either bolster, or counterpane, but two old pillows, one longer than the other, and an old quilt of silk so tattered that the cotton comes out, such a piteous little canopy of sarsenet as is scant good enough to cover some secret stool. Then there are two little pieces of hangings, both of them not seven yards broad. Wherefore, I pray, heartily consider of this, and if you shall think it meet, be a mean for her to the Queen's Majesty, that she might have the furniture of one chamber for herself and her maid, and she and I will play the good housewives, and make shift with her old bed for her man. Also, I would, if I durst, beg further some old silver pots to fetch her drink in and two little cups to drink in, one for beer, another for wine. A basin and an ewer, I fear, were too much, but all these things she lacks, and it were meet she had. And truly, if I were able to give it her, she should never trouble Her Majesty for it; but lookye, what it shall please Her Majesty to appoint for her, shall be always ready to be delivered again in as good a case, as by wearing of it, it shall be left, whensoever it shall please Her Majesty to call for it.

At the end of this letter the Duchess refers to Lady Mary's condition. She describes her grief and penitence as being "excessive."

Lady Mary is so ashamed of her fault that I can scarcely get her to eat anything. In the two days she has been with me, she hath not eaten so much as a chicken's leg, and I fear me, she will die of her grief. A little comfort would do her good.

As the Queen was away now, one can only infer that the Duchess had come to Greenwich to see after her son, aged twelve, who was being brought up in Cecil's household. Cecil was now Master of the Queen's wards, who may have remained at Greenwich during Cecil's absence on the progress.

The following entries in the Duchess's Household Accounts give the expenses of one of these expeditions to Greenwich :

June ; Paid for boote hire for my Master, her Grace, and their servants, with carriage of stuff to Greenwich, £3 7s. 4d.

Paid more, with the meate of fifteen persons, at the Corte at Greenwich, by the space of twenty daies, £3 10s. 4d.

And this entry, " Chatterton for his paynes with Her Grace in my Lady Marie Grayes chambre " * (no sum is specified), must refer to Lady Mary's unexpected arrival. In her letter the Duchess speaks of " playing the good housewife." Lady Mary remained with the Duchess for two years, but the only thing recorded of her, during this time, is that she acted as godmother to the daughter of a certain Jane Meyrick, who must certainly have been a member of the Duchess's household, for Lady Mary would scarcely have been permitted to officiate for any one else. And possibly because her step-grandmother's supervision was not considered sufficiently strict, Lady Mary was transferred to the custody of Sir Thomas Gresham in 1569. Lady Katherine was now dead ; in consequence, Lady Mary's position may have now been considered more delicate, though her sister had left children. The right of the Greys to the throne still seems to have been generally recognized ; in 1566, for instance, Sir Robert Bell, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer, maintained the title of Lady Katherine Grey to be regarded as the Queen's successor when urging the Queen's marriage in Parliament. As the Marquis of Dorset had made a contract of marriage with Lady Katherine Fitzalan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, before his marriage with Lady Frances Brandon, it always seems curious that no charge of illegitimacy was ever preferred against the Grey sisters. But whatever

* *Ancaster MSS.*

the reason was for choosing Sir Thomas Gresham to look after Lady Mary, the task was not at all relished by him. The Queen's habit of selecting prominent subjects to act as goalers to State prisoners was invariably very much resented. The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury were constantly praying to be relieved of the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Sir Thomas Gresham never wrote to Cecil without referring to the time that Lady Mary had been in his house to his wife's "bondiage, and harte sorrow." Lady Gresham (a former milliner, who still made the Queen's caps) also always spoke of Lady Mary as "the heart sorrow of her life."

In 1571, when Thomas Keyes died, Lady Mary was still leading this miserable existence with the Greshams. The poor thing was very much distressed, and from this time onward her grief gave her courage to sign herself "Mary Keyes." She also begged to be allowed the custody of her husband's children, but not only was this request ignored, but Sir Thomas even thought it necessary to consult Cecil as to whether she was to be permitted to wear mourning. However, the term of her confinement was to come this year. During the summer Cecil's daughter, Anne, became engaged to Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

Lord St. John reported the news to the Earl of Rutland, who was then in Paris :

The Earl of Oxford hath gotten him a wife—or at the least, a wife hath caught him ; this is Mistress Anne Cecil, whereunto the Queen hath given her consent, and the which hath caused great weeping, wailing, and sorrowful cheer of those that had hoped to have had that golden day. Thus you may see whilst that some triumph with olive branches, others follow the chariot with willow garlands.*

But though he was esteemed so great a match, the Earl of Oxford was not well off, and Gresham astutely

* *Rutland MSS.*, Vol. I.

utilized this fact to his own ultimate advantage, for he wrote to Cecil :

Whereas I have allowed my Lord of Oxford for his money but after the rate of ten per centum, I shall now be content to allow him after twelve per centum, with any other service I can do for him, or for you.

It was this service that freed Sir Thomas of his unwelcome charge, and by this bribe Lady Mary regained her freedom.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Duchess's Household Accounts—Different categories of dependents—Clothes and other necessities—Players—Visits—Bishop Hall—Lord Clinton's visit.

At this time agriculture was the principal source of wealth in England. In his dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk in his first edition of Latimer's sermons, Augustine Bernher inveighs against the conduct of the land-owning classes :

There be men which be so greedy upon the world, and have addicted, and consecrated themselves unto it, after such a sort, as though this world should last for ever. . . . And in this taking be the greater part of the gentlemen, which with such extremities, treat their poor tenants with raising of rents, taking of fines, and other kinds of extreme dealings that they are compelled day, and night, to cry unto God for vengeance against them. . . . I will speak now of them that, not being content with their lands, and rents, do catch into their hands spiritual livings as parsonages and such like, and that under the pretence to make provision for their houses. What hurt, and damage this realm of England doth sustain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best that do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great parishes, and market towns, with innumerable others, to be utterly destitute of God's word, and that because these greedy men have spoiled the livings, and gotten them into their hands ; and instead of a faithful and patient teacher, they hire a Sir John, which hath better skill in playing at tables [backgammon], in keeping of a garden, than in God's word, and he, for a trifle, doth serve the cure,

and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable pride of such gentlemen, which consume the good of the poor (the which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned minister) in costly apparel, belly cheer, or in building gorgeous houses.

The Duchess, it will be remembered, had had one controversy with some of her tenants over the enclosure of a common, but, as Bernher dedicated his book to her, she can scarcely have been guilty of the covetousness that he so scathingly condemns. Some idea of her manner of life after her return from abroad, can be gathered from her Book of Household Accounts * which happily has survived.

The Household Accounts open with a list of "Suche as dayle remayne in the householde." This comprised some eighty persons, and the list starts with: "The Master, my Lady's Grace, Lady Elinor [Clifford], Mr. Peregrine, and Mistress Suzan." Then comes Mr. Coverdale, probably a relation of Miles Coverdale, who, although he is described as a "preacher," must also have acted as a pedagogue, judging by the following which are entered under the head of "Necessaries":

To Mr. Coverdale for Elliotes Dictionary, 12s.; for four Lillies Grammars, 4s.; for four dialogues, 2s. 8d.; for four Isopes fables, 2s;

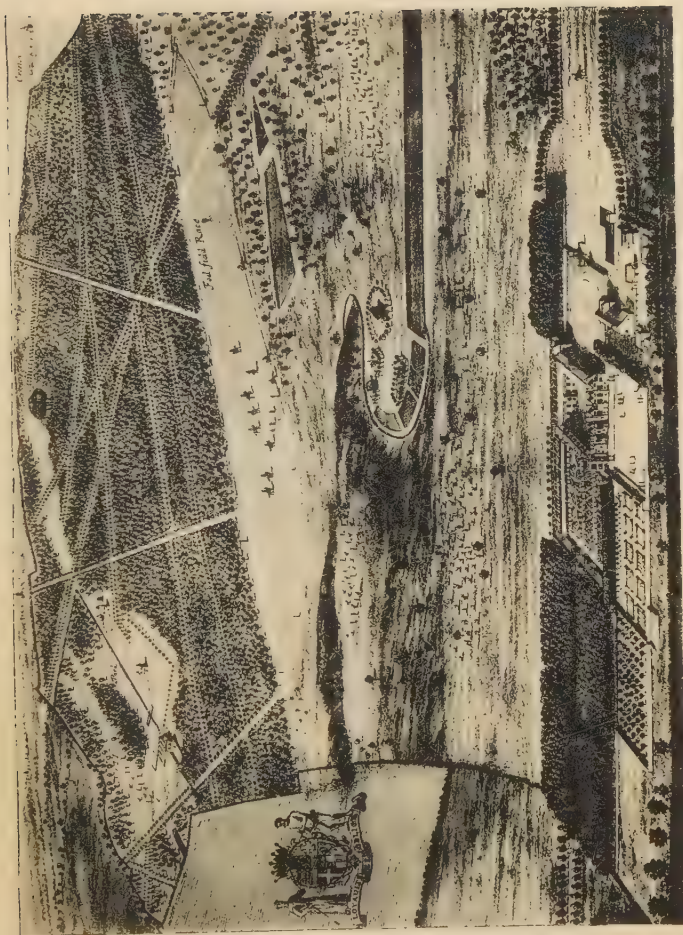
while this entry follows:

To Sandon's wife for byrche for roddes, 3d.

Next in order after Mr. Coverdale come Mr. Bernard, steward, Mr. Pretie, cofferer, Mr. Whitton, comptroller, and Mr. Naunton, master of the horse.

A William Naunton was treasurer to the Duke of Suffolk, and in 1550 the Duchess refers to the suit of "Cousin Naunton" in letters to Cecil.

* *Ancaster MSS.*



Grimsthorpe
from an engraving by Kip, dated 1674

In July 1562 there are the following entries in the Household Accounts :

Gevin to Mr. Henry Naunton to buy him a gowne of grogram, and a dublet of sattine against his marriage, £6.

To Mr. Baxter, Vicar of Borne, which married Mr Naunton, 6s.

To a juggler with his mussisioner at Mr. Naunton's marriage, 10s.

Of the Duchess's three gentlemen-ushers, Mr. Jenney was evidently another relation. The Duchess's grandmother was a Jenney of Knottshall. Mr. Evans was another gentleman-usher, and the third, Mr. Carrowe, may have been the son of the woman who nursed her two baby brothers. In the margin, against the following entry is written " Mistress Carrowe."

To a woman which was my Ladies brothers' nurse, which brought in presents egges, wardons [a stewing pear called after the Cistercian Abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire], and other things, 20*d*.

There are seven gentlemen waiters, a clerk of the provisions, a clerk of the kitchen, a butler, a pantler, and a yeoman of the cellar. In addition to all these officials, the Duchess had in her household, in the order mentioned, yeomen, ushers, grooms, yeomen of the pantry, footmen, a porter usher of the hall, brewers, yeomen of the wardrobe, cooks, children of the kitchen, grooms of the stables, gentlemens' servants and a number of gentlewomen and women servants. Outside servants are also mentioned, such as gardeners, dairy-maids, labourers and retainers. There are eleven " children of honour " besides the Duchess's two children ; two of these, George Sebastian, and George Adams, are described as the " Polish Georges," but only one girl is named.

In addition to clothing the children of honour, the Duchess also made herself responsible for their education.

October 1561. To Mr. Worthington, in part payment for the borde and scolinge of Richard Hall, John Turpin, and Anthony Blakborn, 20s.

And in April 1562, the older boys' schooling is paid at the rate of five pounds a year with a rise of two pounds ten shillings as they grow older. When we consider the task that it must have been to direct such a household, it seems possible that Bertie's ability in managing her servants may have been one of the reasons which led the Duchess to choose him as her second husband.

As we have seen, there were yeomen of the wardrobe among her retinue, and the following items are entered under "Wardrobe of Robes."

March 1561: For two payer of shoes for Mr. Peregrine, a payer for Mistress Suzan, and a payer for Richard Hall at 7*d.* the payer. For 8 payer of knitt hose for the children, 3/4.

For seven yardes of crimson sattin at 13/- the yarde for a Dutche gowne for Mistress Suzan, £4 11*s.*. For a varthingell of mockado for her 7*s.* For a thousand and a half pynnes for Mistress Susan, 16*d.*

The houses on London Bridge were many of them inhabited by foreign haberdashers from whom pins would be obtained.

June 1561. Paid for a cawle of gold worke for Mistress Suzan, 45*s.*

And in these wardrobe accounts come :

For a lute for Mr. Peregrine, and Mistress Suzan, 46*s.*
To Roes when he mended Mr. Peregrine's lute, 8*d.*

Paid for two gramer books for the children, 2*s.*

Richard Bertie seems to have been nice in his dress, and the following are the prices for some of the articles of his wardrobe :

April 1561 ; Paid at London, for ten onzess of granado silke for my masters shirtes at 2*s.* 8*d.* the onze.

November 1561. To Herbert Johnson of th' Antelope in St. Martin's for a payer of "pantapes" (pantoufles?), and a payer of velvet shoes for my master, 13s. 4d.

February 1561-2. A payer of Valencia gloves for my master 10d., and a hatt of thrummed silke, garnished, and a bande of golde, for my master at his coming to Grimsthorpe, 18s.

June 1562. To Clement Newce, mercer, in parte paiement of £178 7s. for sundrie silkes taken of him by my master, herr Grace, the children and their servants, £60.

July 1561. For one dozen of black conies skynes at 9s. the dozen, and for 4 dozen graye cones skynnes at 16d. the dozen.

November 1561. To Mr. Blande, skynner, for a pair of ventes of sables, and for—squirrel for a gown for my master, £14 in part. For a yard and a half of "Sypers," [Cyprus] for a skarfe for my master, 4s.

June 1562. For a "bongras" [a sort of front, standing up round the face, attached to the hood], muffeler, cornet, and forher clothe for her Grace, 10s. 6d.

September 1562. For a peece of fustian of Naples to make a saddle clothe, and a pillion clothe for her Grace, 46s. 8d.

Under the heading of "Wardrobe of Beds" comes the account of John Bee of Lincoln. He seems to have come annually. In December 1560 he is paid 16s. for "dryving of 8 beddes, and 10 bolsters"; in August 1561 he spent eight days at Grimsthorpe, and for making a bed and "dryving feathers" he was paid at the rate of six shillings. Sevenpence a yard is paid for 54 yards of "Irishe rogge" for coverlettes for servants, straw for the children of the kitchen's beds cost 2s. and for the workmanship of "a chayre, and a quishen of redd clothe of gold badkyn and for dyenge of a redd peece of olde damaske," 20s. is paid.

Anthony Pigott is paid 3s. 6d. for rushes provided in May. In February 1561-2, 6s. 8d. is paid for "Rushes for Barbican, and my Lady's lodging at the Corte,"

and the amount paid for rushes sometimes amounts to as much as 10s.

Fumigating pans are mentioned in an inventory of Wolsey's effects, and they must have been very necessary. Erasmus speaks of the floors in England being generally laid with clay and then covered with rushes. These, he says, were occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer was often left undisturbed for twenty years or more. When the weather changed a vapour was exhaled from the rushes.

"Clensing the howse at Grimsthorpe" in February costs 2s. 8*d.*, and the following June, 12s. is paid for "making cleane her Grace's chambre at Greenwich."

Under the heading of "Giftes and Rewardes," christenings frequently occur, and there is a regular scale of payments. "John Persons childe, my master being godfather by his deputie," receives only 2s. and the midwife only 6*d.*, while for the "christininge of Archenbaldes childe by Mr. Peregrine, and Mistress Suzan," 24s. is entered, and 6s. to the nurse and midwife.

"Mistress Skipwithes nurse, when her Grace christined the childe," receives 5s., and the same sum is paid to "Paskes wife when the master christined her child."

With the miserable roads of those days, and when, as in the case of Grimsthorpe, there was no market-town nearer than Bourne, five miles away, the monotony of the life must have been very trying, especially in winter. Thus the arrival of "players," who seem constantly to have presented themselves, naturally constituted a welcome diversion.

Sir Francis Foskewes [Fortescue] players, which came to offer themselves to playe before my Ladye's grace, 3s. 4*d.*

To Goods, the Master of Fense, and his companie, which played before herr Grace, 13s. 4*d.*

To two men which played upon the puppets two nights before herr Grace.

To my Lord Robart Dudleyes * players at Grims-
thorpe, which offered themselves to play but dyd not, 10s.

To a servant of my Lord Willowbies which offered
to play and singe before my master, and her grace 20*d*.

To two of my Lord Robart Dudleyes men which came
to play before them upon the drume, and the phiph, 6s.

To my Lord of Arundalles players, 6s. 6*d*.

To the waightes of London, 5s.

To the Queen's violin at New Yeres tyde, 20s.

To the Earl of Warwick's [Lord Ambrose Dudley]
players, 7s. 6*d*.

To the waites that played at her Graces lodging at the
Corte, 20*d*.

May; To a moresse dawncer of Little Bytham [a
village four miles from Grimsthorpe].

July 1562. To the Quenes players which played at
Grimsthorpe, 20s.

To the waightes of Lyncolne in rewarde for playing,
3s. 4*d*. [Lincoln is thirty miles from Grimsthorpe.]

To my Lord of Rutland's man that played upon the
lute, 6s.

To a bagge piper which played a songe before my
master and her Grace at Eirsbie, 3s. 4*d*.

To divers noblemens trumpiters to the numbere of ten,
20s.

To the Queen's trumpiters, 20s.

To Robt. Lettes, and Robt. Balle of Godmanchester,
musitians, 20s.

At Christmas there were special festivities. The
custom of appointing an Abbot or Lord of Misrule, whose
sway continued from All Hallows Eve to Candlemas,
went on much longer in England than it did on the
Continent, and was only abolished in the reign of James I.
The following items connected with Christmas figure
in the Duchess's Household Accounts.

To George, Mr. Pelham's man, to furnish himself
Lord of Christmas, and his men in a livery, 40s.

* The Earl of Leicester, son of Sir John Dudley, Duke of
Northumberland.

To George, the lorde of good order, for my master's gift to him, 10s.

To the offeringe, Salmon [Clerk of the Provisions], being busshop, by my Ladies grace, geven by my master, 6s.

"Sondrye wyves which brought presentes upon twelfe daye, receive" 6s. 6*d.*, and "the bruers men for thare offeringe at Christmas, 6s."

Mister Peregrine and Mistress Suzan are given 10s. for a New Year's gift, and on another occasion, they, and the other children of honour, are given 2s. "by her Grace to buy them fayrings of a pedler at the gate."

"The poor man at the Gate, which had his howse burnt," and who was given 9*d.* "by my master's commandment," was probably an inhabitant of the hamlet of Grimsthorpe. In October 1560 "a poore man, one of her Grace's tenants, which found Mistress Suzan's broche, being lost," receives 6s, while "one of Borne, which brought a baiting bull," receives 3/4.

Pretie was evidently the head of one of the departments, and his wife is given money "to buy achates for herself, and her children during her Grace's absence."

Only one piece of Elizabethan needlework has survived at Grimsthorpe—one of a set of three hangings that were then used on oak bedsteads. It is worked in fine tent stitch, and represents a classical subject with the characters dressed in the Court dress of the day. Much more needlework of the same type was doubtless worked by the Duchess and her ladies, but unfortunately the name of only one of the Duchess's ladies is mentioned in the Household accounts. "Mistress Knowles" and eight others are given 13s. 4*d.* for velvet "to garde their lyverye gownes." As the Duchess gave a New Year's gift costing £6 to Lady Knollys, wife of Sir Francis Knollys, the Queen's Treasurer, this "Mistress Knowles" may have been their daughter Lettice, who married first the Earl of Hereford, then the Earl of Leicester, and finally Sir Christopher Blount.

The next entries record wages :

To Phillip Handon, the gardener, to bynde him for a yeare to be servante, $4\frac{1}{2}d$.

To twenty women which did weede the gardines, and cortes at Grimsthorpe at sondrie tymes at $2d$ the daie, $5s. 4d$

To a skottishe man with one eie, which helped in the stables six daies, $6s$.

To the mowers and haymakers in Southrope, $12d$, [Scottlethroe, a hamlet near Grimsthorpe].

To Cockrel to bye him a payer of harvest gloves, $3s$.

One of Morton, in recompence of a cow which the howndes killed him, $6s$.

In 1561 Edward Hall (the Duchess's cousin) was called upon to make a declaration in a dispute between Lady Fitzwilliam and Robert Wingfield regarding the enclosure of certain lands at Upton,* Aylesworth, and Caister, on which the tenants of Lady Fitzwilliam had rights of pasture. Upton presumably belonged to Robert Wingfield, and Bertie and the Duchess paid him a visit there. Eleven shillings and four pence is entered as paid to servants at Upton, while money was also given "to certain men which opined gappes for my master, and my Ladies Grace as they came from Upton," an entry which gives some idea of the discomforts and difficulties which attended visiting in those days.

Two shillings is given "to a man of Thomas Emershams which was married, and made a 'banket' for Mister Peregrine, Mistress Suzan, and the children [of honour] in the park," a feast which no doubt took place in the park at Grimsthorpe, while it must have been on a visit to Eresby that money was paid "to certain women of Spilesby which bestowed wyne and cakes upon Mister Peregrine, and Mistress Suzan." In September 1561, Mr. Carrowe, a gentleman-uscher, and Mr Denman, the pantler, were married, and $15s. 10d$. is paid to "four

* In Northamptonshire.

musitians, and a hobby horse, which were at their marriage at Belawe." "A basone, and ewre, with a nest of bolles of silver fashion," costing 12s., were given to Mistress Carrowe the following November, probably as wedding presents.

In an account written by William Stukeley * of a visit to Grimsthorpe in 1736, he mentions "a very old seat" north of Vaudey Abbey, called Bishop Hall. Formerly, a great wood of a thousand acres stretched from the boundaries of the Abbey nearly to the village of Corby, five miles away, and was the property of the bishops of Lincoln. A small portion of this wood is now included in the park at Grimsthorpe and still goes by the name of Bishop Hall. There must have been a house here from very early days, and "Belawe" is no doubt a contraction of Bishop Hall, the house mentioned by Stukeley. In the Household Accounts, "Belawe" is referred to several times; seventeen shillings is paid for "a boote for the mote at Belawe." The moat was doubtless the precursor of the present artificial lake at Grimsthorpe, while the two ponds close to Vaudey Abbey were the monks' fishponds. A very important guest was entertained at Belawe in 1561 in the person of the Lord High Admiral, Lord Clinton,† who now owned Tattershall. His visit to "Belawe" must have been in connection with his office of "Steward and Keeper of the Court and all Manors of the late monasteries of Vaudey, Newby and Swineshed." He was evidently on friendly terms with Bertie and the Duchess; his servant is paid 3s. 3d. for bringing a "fesent and three partridges," and there is also a contemporary picture of him at Grimsthorpe; but probably Bertie and the Duchess were away at the time. "A wyfe of Lowth which made wafers agaynst the Lord Admiral coming to Belawe," was paid two

* William Stukeley the Lincolnshire antiquarian, born at Holbeach, Lincolnshire, in 1687.

† Lord Clinton was afterwards made Earl of Lincoln.

shillings and fourpence, and a sum not specified was given "to Mr. Bolses servant which brought sundrie things borrowed of his master against the Lord Admiralles coming to Belawe." Another entry in the Household Accounts for February 1560-1—"Mrs. Brodbank for kytching forty-four rats at Valdey, 3s. 4*d*."—suggests that the Lord Admiral had an uncomfortable time at Belawe.

A sister of Lady Willoughby, Lady Inez of Albernos and Salinas, married Frances Guevara of Stanyott in Lincolnshire, and six shillings are paid to "Mr. Guevara's man which brought two oxen in present to my master," while a half-year's annuity of £15 is paid to Mr. Guevara.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Household accounts in London—Travelling expenses—Lodgings at Westminster—Associations with Holbein—Hans Eeuwouts—Katherine Ashley—The Duchess catches smallpox—The Queen takes the infection—Sir Thomas Smith's letter—The Duchess's removal to the Barbican—History of the Barbican—The Duchess's dealings with goldsmiths—Losses at games of chance—Stores, groceries, coal.

THE next batch of quotations from the Duchess's accounts refer to a visit that she paid to London in the summer of 1561. Writing to Cecil in the month of June, Anthony Kyme refers to a controversy over some land in Lincolnshire, which formerly belonged to a Mr. Fulston, and which was now in question between the Queen and the Duchess of Suffolk. It was this controversy which must have brought the Duchess and her family to London; instead of going to the Barbican, they settled in lodgings at Westminster, probably because they thought it wise to be as near to the Queen's ear as possible. From the following account of the travelling expenses, Bertie must have travelled in advance.

My Master's charges, his trayne and their horses, being the number of eighteen men and horses, besides strangers, £18. 17. 1½.

Her Grace's charges in coming from Grimsthorpe to London with her train. At Huntingdon, supper, and breakfast, 46s. 4d. Drinking at Stilton, 16d. Dinner at Royston with other things, 39s. 11d. Supper and breakfast at Puckeryge, 53s. 1d. Dinner at Waltham, 17s. 1d. For drink at Wanswirth, Ware and Hoddesdon, 2s. 9d. ; total, £8 & 6d.

To the prisoners at Huntingdon as herr Grace passed through 20*d.*, and to a poor woman in the way 4*d.*

There was always a great risk in those days of catching some infectious complaint when sleeping at Inns, and for this reason Cecil, in one of his letters, directs the young Earl of Rutland, when travelling to London, to stay at gentlemen's houses.

The Duchess's journey to London was probably responsible for the following items in the "Stable Accounts" ;

For silke fringe for a new pillion clothe for her Grace, and fifteen shillings for a harnes, and a trimming for the same, twenty-six shillings and eightpence for a payer of silke raines for my Ladie.

For the gentlewomen "crewell raynes" are provided. In the Household Accounts, we read :

Paid for the hire of Hance's howse at Westminster during the time her Grace lay there, £10.

Now in addition to a pension of 200 florins from Henry VIII, Hans Holbein had been granted rooms in the Palace of Westminster, and it seems probable that these were the lodgings that the Duchess now occupied. The Duchess must have known the painter well ; he made a drawing of her which is now in the King's Collection at Windsor, besides the miniature reproduced in this book. There is also a small self-portrait by Holbein at Grims-thorpe on which is written the date of his death.*

"Haunce the drawer," who is paid 20*s.* in 1562 for drawing "the storie of David and Sall," was obviously not Holbein, who died of the sweating sickness in 1543. He may have been Hans Eeuwouts, who came to London in 1549, and who may also have been the "paynter which drew the picture of two children," presumably Suzan

* When Sir Sidney Lee saw this picture in 1892 he said that the date on it was interesting, as the date of Holbein's death had then only been recently verified.

and Peregrine Bertie, though the sum that he was paid is not specified. The following entries all refer to this visit of the Duchess to Westminster :

To the poore at Haunce's house, 12*d*.

To the cookes in Qwenes privie kychen at Westminster, passing through the kychen, 3*s*. 4*d*.

To the Qwenes gardiner for turning the water to herr Grace's lodging, 3*s*. 4*d*.

To one of the gromes of the Qwenes stable, which brought my master a horse to ryde with my Lord Robert [Dudley].*

June 1561. Gevin at the Corte to keepers of the garden, and orchard ; to ushers, pages &c., to the cellar, buttery, pantry &c, £9 16*s*. 4*d*.

To a boy which gave her Grace a posy, 4*d*.

To the prisoners at Newgate, 12*d*.

To two poore women at Blackfriars, 8*d*.

To two prisoners that begged their fees, 8*d*, and in almes 5*d*, thole is 4*s*. 1*d*.

Gevin by my Master's commandment to the Keepers of the lions at the Tower in May last, 6*s*.

"A shipman," who brings the Duchess a canary bird, receives 20*s*., while "the shipper" who brings "my ladies" a parrot only gets 3*s*.

On the fourth of June this year the steeple of Old St. Paul's was struck by lightning, and the Queen deputed the Privy Council to confer with the Lord Mayor about raising contributions for its repair. A public subscription was started, and we read in the Duchess's accounts :

"To the collector for Powle's steeple, 6*s*. 8*d*."

Apparently other people were not more generous than the Duchess. The roof was repaired, but when Old St. Paul's was burnt down in the fire of London in 1662, it was still without a steeple.

The next entry probably bears directly on the case which had brought the Duchess to London :

"To Mistress Ashley's man at the Cort, who lett my Master in the prevy garden, the Qwene being theare."

* Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

Evidently Bertie was anxious to speak to the Queen himself about the matter. Katherine Ashley, through whose servant he gained admittance to the privy garden, was Elizabeth's former governess to whom she was warmly attached. When Lady Tyrwhit had been substituted for Mistress Ashley, when Elizabeth was removed from the guardianship of Katherine Parr, Sir Robert Tyrwhit wrote :

The Princess is very loth to have a governor, and she fully hopes to recover her old mistress again, the love she beareth to whom, is to be wondered at.

Whether Bertie derived any satisfaction from his visit to the Queen in the Privy Garden, does not appear ; his suit must have suffered a serious set-back when the Duchess caught smallpox and when Elizabeth also contracted the disease. On the ninth of November 1561 Sir Thomas Smith, the English Ambassador in Paris, writes to Cecil :

After my conversation with the Cardinal of Ferrara, I was sent for by the Queen Mother [Catherine de Medici]. After other matters, she asked if I had not heard of the Queen's illness. I said that I had only heard by the Queen's courier, Nicholas. The Queen Mother replied that the Queen was well again. I said it was the smallpox which had vexed England these two or three years. There has been no plague to speak of for twelve years. The Queen Mother said that they had had enough in France, and that smallpox was nothing. I said not amongst the children, but in England it took aged folk, and ladies. The Duchess of Suffolk had it first, the Countess of Bedford died of it, and divers ladies of forty, fifty and fifty-five years, have died. This disease is best acquainted by Duchesses, Marchionesses, and Countesses, so it is no marvel that at last the Queen should have it. When they use no physic, nor strive with it, they escape best. The Queen bathed before they came out, which put her in great danger.

Like her father, Elizabeth was evidently terrified of infection, and as soon as the nature of the Duchess's illness was discovered she had to be moved, although this precaution did not prevent the Queen from catching the disease.

To Mistress Ashley's man that brought her Grace to Barbican with a lytle waggon, 12*d*.

For a carre to bring a bedde from my Lady Katherine Cappels to Barbican, when her Grace was sicke, 4*d*.

Lady Katherine Capel, who thus played the part of good Samaritan, was daughter of the Countess of Rutland, who had been lady-in-waiting to Jane Seymour.

The next entries all refer to the Duchess's illness.

To an Etalion which shulde have minestered medicine to herr Grace for the small-pox, 5*s*.

To Dr. Keynes in a cuppe of sylver all gilt, for his paynes in the syckness of herr Grace and Mistress Suzan, £5 14*s*.

Evidently Suzan Bertie also caught the smallpox. As further proof of the Duchess's gratitude to Dr. Keynes for all that he had done for her and her child, she honoured him by dining with him.

For wafers, when my master and her Grace dyned with Dr. Keynes.

"To my ladies in single pence to play at tables in herr syckness, by my master's commandment" has no sum against it, while "Mr. Rose and his daughters which played before her Grace in her syckness" received thirteen shillings and fourpence.

But though these diversions may have been very pleasant for the Duchess, they cannot have been so pleasant for the others, who had to run the risk of catching the smallpox.

For a pynt of claret wyne in Her Grace's syckness. Father Fryer [the cellarer], not being within, 2*d*.

A Reward paid to James of the Kychen for well dressing of my Ladies dinner, by my Master's commandment.

The Barbican, to which the Duchess had now been removed, had been given to Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, by Edward III. It was then called the Base Court, and it occupied the site of an extra-mural watch-tower of Roman London. In Agas' map of London, made about 1560, the Barbican is marked as standing due north of Cripplegate, a postern gate in the city wall, and houses are marked on either side of the street between the two ; behind these houses, and to the north, are open fields, while the church of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, stands on the left. Strype describes the Barbican as being "a good broad street, well inhabited by tradesmen, especially salesmen, for apparel, both new and old." And fronting Red Cross Square he speaks of a "Watch House where formerly stood a Watch Tower." This must have been the old Garter House. The Duchess's house now began to be called Willoughby House, probably in order to distinguish it from the "good, broad street" where the old and new apparel was sold, when that came to be known as Barbican. In later years the locality was to obtain an unenviable reputation ; Dryden lays the scene of his *MacFleknoe* here :

A Watch Tower once, but now so fate ordains,
Of all the pile, an empty name remains.
From its old ruins, brothel houses rise,
Scenes of lewd love, and of polluted joys.

And Smith seizes on this evil reputation of the Barbican in parodying Sir Walter Scott in *The Rejected Addresses*.*

* "When Drury Lane was burned down in 1812 the Directors thought that an ode from some of the many poets of the time would be an appropriate feature in the ceremonial of the opening, and they put up the privilege of writing the address to public competition. Not one sent proved good enough for the purpose. Some one suggested to James and Horace Smith a supposed selection from the condemned poets, and the *Rejected Addresses* were the result. Scott was delighted with the parody of his style."—*Literary History of the XIXth Century*, Vol. I, p. 156. Oliphant.

A fiery tale its lustre lends
 To every window-pane.
 Blushes each spout in Martlet Court,
 And Barbican, moth-eaten fort.

All these lines were written long after the Duchess's death, but Machyn records an unpleasant incident that occurred there in 1563 :

The eleventh of May, was a fyre in Barbykan, at my Lady Suffolke's place, beyond the Red-crosse Street, by a Frenche man that kept the place. A part bornyd.*

But considering the makeshifts quoted in the Accounts, this fire was not perhaps a great misfortune.

These entries are headed " Wurkes and Buyldings."

For brown paper to stop crenies in the chambers, her Grace being sycke, 3s.

January 1562. To a man which laded water owte of the cellar at Barbican, 6*d*.

To John Ossam, joyner, for paper, oyle, nayles, tymber and workmanship of 1j paper windowes in the wardrobe at Barbican in the sickness of Mr. Burton.

Mr. Burton was one of the Duchess's gentlemen waiters ; apparently these officials slept in what is termed the wardrobe. Also, it is clear that many of the windows at the Barbican were at this period still unglazed, and that the Duchess either did not want to have them glazed, or could not afford it.

Two shillings is paid for meat for the Turquey cocks at the Barbican, and three shillings and fourpence to fill the " greate vessel " there with " Rhenish wine." " A poor man," who had been in Bedlam, is given one shilling, five shillings is given to the poor at St. Giles's, and seventeen shillings and eightpence to the prisoners at the Marshalsea and in other alms. The sum given to " Monsieur le Forge," who presented a book, is not

* *Machyn's Diary*, p. 308. The Earl of Bridgewater's two sons and their tutor were all burned to death in a later fire at the Barbican in 1687. In 1688 the house was sold to Sir Christopher Wren and Robert Jackson for £4,400.

mentioned, but "the minister that ministered the Communion at Barbican last Easter" is paid five shillings. This amount is also paid to the poor at Edenham "on Ester Daye," and six shillings and eightpence by my Master's commands to the purse for the poore at Ester."

It is not known how the dispute over the Lincolnshire lands was settled, but it is clear from the next entries that no expedients were neglected by the Duchess.

February. To Mr. Catlyne, Lord Chefe Judge, in a standing cuppe of sylver all gilte, £11 14s. 8d.

To Mr. Judge Browne, in a standing cuppe of sylver all gilte, £11 5s. 4d.

Gevin in a cuppe of silver and gilt by herr Grace to the Qwenes atturney, £13 7s. 8d.

To her Grace (here the words are illegible) which she used for the better gettinge of a bille signed by the Qwene, 20s.

And the following are an example of the tax that the Queen's New Year gifts were to her subjects.

December 1561. To David Suls in gold for a new yers gifte for the Qwene, £14 10s.

To him for the workmanship (here the writing is illegible), because the peece was not well wrought, he had but £4 14s. 8d.

To Handford of the Black Swanne in Chepe; goldsmith, for a chesse borde, and a set of men gevin to the Qwene, £5.

To Thomas, the Goldsmith, for the workmanship of the Qwenes new yeares gifte, £6.

To him for the making of certain byes for the chaine of the Qwenes New Yeres gifte, 48s. (Byes probably means links, boye being an old term for gyve or fetter.)

To David Zulls, Goldsmith, for a chaine of gold for the same, £5 13s. 4d.*

* The shops where these gifts were purchased stood in the splendid block of houses known as Goldsmith's Row between Bread Street and the Cross in Cheapside. They were all four storeys high, uniformly built and decorated with the Goldsmith's Arms.

Apparently not only had gifts to be presented, but they also had to be kept in repair by the donors, for we read :

“ For amending the vice of one of the cuppes being the Qwenes New Yere’s gift the last year, and other items, 17/-.”

In September 1561 the Duchess had recovered from the smallpox and was back at Grimsthorpe. From there she paid several visits. Twenty shillings is entered as having been given “ at my Lord Cromwelles when my master and her Grace were there,” and, from the following entries, visits were also paid to Sir William Mildmay at Apethorpe, and to the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir.

Gevin to two keepers at Sir William Mildmay’s, 12s.

To the yeomen of the wardrobe there, 13s. 4*d*.

Gevin at my Lord of Rutlandes in the same journey, 40s.

Gevin at a howse where her Grace dried her in the waie, 12*d*.

The tribute that is paid in Drew’s play to the Duchess’s consideration for her servants, is borne out by the following entries in her Accounts :

Geven to suche gentlemen as attended herr Grace at the Corte, which thaie shulde have bestowed upon their lyveries save for the statute of apparell, £3 6s. 8*d*.

To Wm Kinge so allowed for losses sustained by proclamacion in 59 frenche crownes and 5 pisilates at the falle of golde, 21s. 4*d*.

And the following declaration has several names appended to it :

I am allowed for losse sustained in £5 8s. 4*d*. Spanishe money, [here a blank], in four Phillips, and in four dallers 11s. 6*d*.

The debased coin has been called in on the accession of Elizabeth, but much still remained in circulation and

there was also a good deal of foreign money. According to Ben Jonson, in *The Alchemist*, it was a favourite device on the part of masters, to rid themselves of this money by paying their servants with it.

After the visits that have been mentioned, Bertie and the Duchess may have returned to London, as in November 1561 "a bonesetter dwelling in Wallbroke" is paid 3s. 4d. "for setting in two joyntes which weare out in young Gerves ancle."

The price paid for "a pair of syssers to poll the boyes of the Kychen," is not given, but 5d. is paid for "washing dresser clothes, and the fooles shirts."

In view of the reference made by Latimer in one of his sermons at Grimsthorpe, to the Statute of Winchester, which ordered shooting with the long bow, and prohibited "carding, dicing, tabling, and bowling," it is interesting to find the following entries under the head of "Necessaries."

July. For my Master's losses at the buttes [a blank] Paieing for all the contrey men which toke his part, 21d., and for one rubbers game at rovers in the park, 2s. 3d.

To Mr. Pelham, for my Master's losses at rovers, 6d.

To Mr. Peregrine, and Mistress Suzan, to play upon Christmas Day, 5s.

My Master lost at Blank dise, 1d.

To my Master at Tables with her Grace, 12d.

To my Master at Tables, before his going to Grantham 4d. April 1562.

To him at cardes at Mistress Banisters at Grantham 12d.

May. To my Master at play at London, 5s. 6d.

And "To my Master at cardes, 2s." occurs repeatedly.

Finally, the Household Accounts give one some idea of the creature comforts of the period. The darkness in winter must have been one of the worst privations, and next to that, the monotony of the diet. Once the autumn frosts had cut down the grass all the cattle, with the

exception of the breeding stock, had to be slaughtered, and salted down in tubs.

The lighting, such as it is, is entered as follows :

For one pound of rosin provided for staff torches, 3*d*.

For two dozen staff torches, 2*rs*.

For a stone of candlewicke, 3*s*. 8*d*.

“ Quarriers,” which were candles made with a lump of wax with a wick in the middle, are also quoted, and four pounds of cotton wick costing £3 6*s*. Sixpence is paid for “ watche-lightes.” The ledges with which most of the more ornamental oak tester beds of this period are provided, were meant for watch lights ; three shillings and tenpence is the cost of a watch-light candlestick.

The kitchen accounts for October give the following items :

Half a hundred lynges at £7.

For four quarter of baye salte at 16*d*. the strik. (Strik is the old Lincolnshire word for a bushel ; the bay salt was used for salting down the meat in tubs.)

For 6 barrells of white herringes at 23*s*. 4*d*.

For 2 cases [barrels] of red herringes at 12*s*. the case, £3 12*s*.

“ Two men which brought hernshewes from Marckby to Grimsthorpe,” are given 12*s*., and 4*d*. is paid for “ inwardes of beastes to feede hernshes.” Why herons should have been held in such esteem, seems curious, considering that they can only have killed the pond fish, an important item of food in those days.

For “ 18 strik of chipings [bushels of fragments] for the howndes, 3*s*. 1*d*.” is paid.

But there are other and more attractive items. A list of groceries sent to Grimsthorpe includes :

“ A topnet of figs, great and small raisins, lycoras, fennel seeds, marmalade, and green ginger,” and the sum of £21 19*s*. 6*d*. is entered as being due to “ Mode, grocer of London.”

Other stores that are mentioned are "a barrel of swete sope at Sturbridge, 50s."

400 oranges, 3s. 10*d*.

420 eggs, 5s. 10*d*.

For a pigge, 6*d*.

Half a peck of onions, 14*d*.

Redd lead for the stove, 1*d*.

For a pound of isenglass, 2s. 6*d*.

William Edwardes daughter which brought a basket with isope to still, 1*d*.

The coal bill for three months in the summer comes to £15 18s. 8*d*.

To Robert Clarke, collier, for 7 loode and 24 sakes in Aprill, 3 loode and 18 sakes in May, and for 5 loode and 10 sakes in June at 20s. the loode, being 16 loode and 22 sakes of which 20s. is paid.

Evidently the winter supply of coal was got in during the summer when the roads were in a better condition.

CHAPTER XXIX

Bertie, member for Lincolnshire—Rumour of a Government post being offered to him—His postscript to Cecil—Illness of the Duchess—Correspondence with foreigners—Letter to Cecil concerning the introduction of foreign artificers—Letter to Cecil regarding the Customs at Boston.

IN 1563 Richard Bertie was chosen as one of the Knights * for the County of Lincoln, with William Cecil as his colleague, but he only sat in Parliament for four years. That there may have been some truth in the passage in Drew's play that Bertie was offered a public post, is suggested by the following postscript, added by him to a letter from the Duchess to Cecil :

As your loving commendations comforted me, so the signification of some public function much cumbered me, yea, so much, that if your gravity had not been the better known to me, I should have thought it scant seriously written ; but seeing you meant it faithfully, I pray you in season, correct your error, in preferring insufficiency for sufficiency, and to deliver yourself from rebuke, and me from shame. My hope is that I shall find you so friendly, and hereunto inclined, that I shall not need to iterate my suit." †

When Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564, Bertie was one of the courtiers on whom the University conferred the degree of Master of Arts.

In 1568, the Duchess had a bad illness. When writing to inform Cecil, Bertie makes much play on Lady

* Victors at the polls had spurs buckled on to their heels as Knights of the Shire, down to the passing of the Registration of Voters Bill in 1868.

† Burleigh Papers, *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 6.

Strange's name (Lady Strange* being Lady Eleanor Clifford's only daughter Margaret). Puns were very fashionable at this time, and Bertie's puns are particularly laboured.

Having to send to Lady Strange, it would seem strange, if I did not thank you for courtesies received. Peradventure, you will think it strange, to hear from me out of the south, but the rumour of the Duchess's dangerous illness, spreading over the land, could not be hid from the Court, the wind whereof made as great a wonder upon the land in Lincolnshire, as is often seen upon the seas, two ships with one wind, carried contrary ways. So my Lord Mounteagle's men, by occasion of the report, so far by the way increased, that my Lady was dead, before almost she fell sick, carried them apace northward, and me faster southward, with minds, and prayers, as contrary. But this wind, by God's great mercy, well blown over, will shortly, I trust, bring us together in a calm ; for my Lady, though she continue a bedwoman, and not a footwoman, yet, God be praised, she groweth a little stronger than her sickness, and sendeth to you, and to my lady, your wife, as strong and hearty commendations as ever she did ; and I pray you both think that my devotion towards you is even as great as hers, though I take it to be in the superlative degree. Rest you both most happily in God.

fr. Barbican.†

After their return to England, Bertie and the Duchess still kept in touch with various foreigners. Ludowick, Count of Stolberg, was one of her correspondents, and besides the Polish Georges, mentioned in the Household Accounts, they also received into their service a member of the Steinach family. There is a lengthy correspondence on the subject in which Hans, Landschade of Steinach, begs the Duchess to see that the services rendered by him and his family to the English crown, shall not be forgotten,

* Lady Strange, afterwards Countess of Derby. She was one of Queen Elizabeth's ladies.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Elizabeth Dom., Vol. XLIII, 1568. P. 79. No. 297.

though he omits to mention the nature of these services. In 1569 Bertie writes to Cecil to remind him of the suit of a poor Dutchman, who is anxious to return to Holland, to fetch his wife and goods; he goes on to dwell on the miseries that people abroad were then suffering for conscience' sake. And about this same time, a scheme for introducing foreign artificers, with a view to stimulating native industry, was also undertaken by Bertie and his wife. A number of small trades were starting in different parts of the country, and in view of what they had seen abroad, Bertie and the Duchess probably considered that bringing in alien workers, with new and improved methods, would prove a profitable venture. A great fillip had been given to the woollen trade in the eastern counties a few years previously by the action of the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich in introducing Flemish weavers, who had been driven out of their own country by the Duke of Alba's persecutions.

RICHARD BERTIE to WILLIAM CECIL, *June 5, 1570.*

This bearer, (one of the chiefest men with whom I have dealt for the calling of strangers into Lincolnshire), I recommend to your discretion, with the cause. He, and his fellows, seem half discouraged for that I have so long said, and not satisfied them with any resolution, because they are constrained to entertain divers head craftsmen of the mysteries which they intended to foster to their great charge, without any use of them. I wish to God, that it may please you, to comfort them with hope shortly to end in the effect. I thought it not amiss to inform my Lord of Leicester (upon your late reconciliation), how I had practised to bring stranger artificers into Lincolnshire. And for that the town of Stamford seemed not least commodious for them, I was a suitor to you to further the cause, and to win Mr. Treasurer Cecil with me for the better aid, and assurance to be given to such as should be placed thereabouts. My Lord commended the purpose very much, and seemed to like very well of it. I pray God to give it good success, and the like to all

the other causes, which you shall handle, for His honour, and for the confirmation of peace.*

The sum of £100 per annum had been granted to Robert, sixth Lord Willoughby to be received out of the Customs of wools, wool-fells, and pelts in the Port of Boston in recognition of his services during the French wars, and Bertie's next letter refers to the various methods by which this grant had been levied.

I am forced (upon common report, that the Queen's Majesty intendeth to lease her customs), to pray your friendly aid for the prevention of an inconvenience which thereby may happen to my Lady and me. We have, in the Port of Boston, a portion of customs, called a lastage of wools, fells, furs, and victuals, which, from there, cross the seas, answerable to us, beside the ordinary custom due to Her Majesty. In old time the mean to levy this custom, was by chaining over this haven, and so constrain the owners to give in the parcel of their wares. But for that divers vessels, running upon the chain unawares, perished, my Lady's ancestors entreated the customer of Boston by his book, to gather it, and left the chaining of the water, so that the customer, (at this day), doth gather for us. But because it is of courtesy and not of duty, he maketh it nice and more nice, when he hath gathered, to pay. He detaineth yet something there whole years, in his hands, as the last term, I was driven to use against one Skyner, now Customer, for the money. And mine only help to charge him, is yearly, to attend the delivery up of his account in the exchequer and by the portion of laws of the same and by that which is due to the Queen, I know what is due to me, which means, (if any farm out the custom for a rent), shall be utterly out for me, neither, after so long discontinuance, can I well return to the chaining of the estuary. And if I might, yet the same would greatly hinder traffic to that port. Wheresoever, if Her Majesty mindeth to make her best gain of their farm, I am compelled to offer myself to be the best farmer, or else to lose so much yearly revenue, praying you most earnestly, without labour, to help the

* *Cal S. P.*, Elizabeth Dom., Vol. XLIX, No. 76.

Queen to her best profit ; and to save your poor friends from so much incommodity as in this case, they are likely to sustain, without your good friendship. But if it be so that none other seeketh this farm, (neither do I seek it, so loth I am to trouble Her Majesty, and my friends with any special suit), further than to possess mine own without encumbrance. . . .

Bertie then goes on to refer to the foreign artificers.

Before Christmas last, Gasper sent hither two Netherlanders, the one a baker of fine earthen vessels, the other a dresser of leather. I first sent them to Bourne, which they mislike not. Then I prayed Mr. Harrington to show them Stamford, and the commodity thereof. At their return to me, they commended the town as apt for their purpose as nothing more, for the one found very good earth, the other back skins (as he thought, very good and cheap), insomuch, that he bought some raw, to make his gain in dressing of them at L . . . , and gave above the ordinary price. One of them is returned now to have some answer for the manner of habitation, minding this spring, to settle there, if there may be agreements of conditions. The report of their demands I leave to Mr. Hall.

I have diligently inquired of Mr. Gasper, and I am informed, that though his losses be great, yet he is able to recover them. That he has sent over his wife, to make of all that they have, to answer all men, and besides, to suffice for their [blank] of these mysteries. Mr. Gasper writes to me that his wife is ready to return, having, with the aid of his friends, provided artificers, instruments and ways. And for so much as there is res . . . , for them to pass directly from there hither. Their passage by Hamburg is frozen up, and beside, their [company?], both the vessel and the mariners of the Low Countries, entering within Her Majesty's dominions, are in danger of arrest, [so] that I should become a mean to you for a warrant to be obtained from the Marine Commissioners. And for so much as is faithfully meant towards this privilege, I pray you to accept the suit.

My Lady, though sick (weary) of body, yet sendeth you her most hearty and sound commendations, to the

which [tear in MS.], all mine, with as good a mind, and so I commend you to the ever living God.*

fr. Grimsthorpe, the last day of January, 1570.

Drink was now served for the rich in pots and goblets of silver and in Venice glass, but the poorer classes used pewter, wood, or earthenware pots. The Bellarmines or "Greybeards," so named after Cardinal Bellarmine, who was sent to the Low Countries to oppose the progress of the reformed religion, were imported from abroad for general use in English Inns, during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. One William Simpson, prays to be allowed the monopoly of importing drinking-pots in the stead of one Garnet Tynis "a stranger living in Acon, the part beyond the seas," and he gives this undertaking :

He will as in him lieth, drawe the making of such like pottes into some decayed town within this realm wherebie manie a hundred poore men may be sett to work.†

And Bertie and the Duchess must have had the same intention. Bellarmines were made in England; a specimen from Lady Charlotte Schreiber's collection, dated 1594, bears the royal arms of England, the initials E. and R. surrounded by the Garter, a Tudor rose crowned, and a portcullis.

* *Cal. S. P.*, Elizabeth Dom., 77/10. Vol. LXXVII, p. 406. No. 16.

† *Lansdowne MSS.*, 108 Fol. 60.

CHAPTER XXX

Suzan Bertie's marriage with Richard Grey—Claims lodged for the revival of the Kent and Willoughby titles—The Duchess's letters to Cecil on the subject—Letters to Lord Berkeley—Richard Grey's claim allowed—His early death—Bertie's claim to the Willoughby title rejected.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1570 Suzan Bertie, now aged seventeen, became engaged to Reginald Grey. From various references on the subject, it appears that Bertie's humble birth had affected the matrimonial prospects of his daughter. The Duchess certainly was of this opinion. Formerly many men, notably Judge Dudley, Cardinal Wolsey, and Thomas Cromwell had risen from quite obscure positions, the two former being, it was said, the sons of butchers, but it seems that Elizabeth's Court had become more exclusive, and that Bertie, at all events, had lacked the ability to establish himself. Reginald Grey was a distant connection, as Elizabeth Hussey, the wife of his half-uncle, Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, was sister to Mary Hussey, the first wife of the Duchess's father. Richard, Earl of Kent took to gambling in his old age, and died in abject poverty at the George Inn, in Lombard Street ; his half-brother, Sir Henry Grey, never assumed the title in consequence of the narrowness of his estate. It was only when his son Reginald became the prospective husband of Suzan Bertie that a claim was lodged ; the revival of the Kent title for her future son-in-law apparently suggested to the Duchess the idea of claiming the Willoughby title for her husband—a claim that had been allowed on the two former occasions when the Willoughby title had been borne by a woman. A vast amount of

correspondence resulted from these two claims, and though only letters to Cecil and Lord Berkeley have been preserved, it seems fairly certain that many other people were approached by the Duchess. The difference in tone of these letters is very noticeable. In place of the old terseness and confidence there is a querulous diffuseness, caused possibly by failing eyesight and a sense of advancing years. Also, it is very evident that the Duchess had lost touch with her times. Though the age was less brutal than that of her youth, there was far less directness, and the conceits and subterfuges of Queen Elizabeth's Court must have been sadly disconcerting to her; these people talked a language that the Duchess could not understand. Nor were her relations with the Queen of a very happy character; their natures were too dissimilar. And while the Duchess's connection with the Grey family would be resented by Elizabeth, subservience to the Queen's whims must have often proved very galling to the older woman, especially in recalling former days when Anne Boleyn's bastardized daughter was of little account.

Addressing her old friend, William Cecil, in July 1570, the Duchess writes :

I desire you to prove your declared friendship by asking you to deliver my letter to the Queen. I despair of my suit to Her Majesty. In very trifles I fail, though others speed. My chief comfort is that I rather have such bad fortune than deserve it. I do not envy the good of others, but rather am glad of other suits I had, as mine for Mr. Grey, to have bought Lord Hunsdon's office of Ante . . . and to have given him as much for it as any one else. I hear that part of it is likely to be forfeited to mean men as keepers. Since coming into the country, I heard that you would be the only stay; I had you not, which grieved me most. And yet the strangest hap of all is this. When I am in Her Majesty's presence, I find Her Majesty most gracious towards me and my poor husband and children, in such sort, I could not look for

that I find, and yet indeed, so neglected, rejected and forgotten in all things, unless it be for charge, or service, as none the meanest in any country, the like. So it seems, we lack friends to commend, or remember us to Her Majesty: howbeit, her gentle speech seems to accept of our service better than we deserve, and yet, I trust, so to our duty, as truly, and faithfully, as any other poor subjects she hath. A friendly papist, being in my company lately, "payd me home." As I was comforting myself with Her Majesty's most loving talk to me, "you may," quoth the friend. "Her Majesty loveth you well, but she dare not make it known to the world for making you a wanton." We have been no cravens. If we be wronged, the Italian proverb justifies us, that "they that serve well, hold their peace, as enough." But though I go without my right, it shall content me that I have deserved better. For my husband's sake and mine, it lies grievous to me that they be altogether unconsidered. But that our child, after us, might sorrow [over] their parents' evil hap, grieves me most. For it was told me to my face within this month, that my barony was gone from me and my heirs, to the newly created Lord Willoughby. (But I put my trust in God, though friends fail me that I shall not for ever be bared by envy, of my right.) It is to God to rule all, and by His good means, those as meanly born as my husband, have been advanced by Princes' gifts, to greater honour than I and my husband, challenge as our due. We have been kept from it these eighteen years, the first six years by my own default, for otherwise, I might with greater offers, have had it. But to return to my suit, whereof I despair, not for any fear that I have of Her Majesty, but of those enemies, before named, grudging that any other than themselves, should fare well; an old courtier,* but an unseemly servant for a prince. The fittest for a prince be those whom virtue prefers, among whom, Mr. Grey has the good report of all men. He is of honourable birth so that there is nothing to keep him from the furtherance of a faithful councillor to obtain his prince's favour for the enjoying of his right. If it was honourable in Queen Mary, to restore the Earl of Northumberland, whose

* The Earl of Arundel.

father was a traitor, and so suffered, and he himself, was fain to be restored to blood, then must it needs be more honourable for Her Majesty, to restore one that never offended, nor his parents before him, but, [who was] only undone, and unable to receive what he was rightly born to, by means of their great unthriftiness. Yet we crave not of Her Majesty so "chargeable a restoring" as the aforesaid Earl had, but only that it would please her to command Mr. Attorney, by her letters, to advertise Her Majesty, what in right, by law and conscience, resteth to Mr. Grey, and that he might enjoy that with Her Majesty's good favour. If Her Majesty should think him worthy of more, we ask nothing more, what it shall please Her Majesty to bestow on Mr. Grey, except this, that it would please her, to make him a fee farm to him and his heirs male, of all such his ancestors' lands at the old rent, as she has at present in her hands, ungiven away, so that Her Majesty shall lose none of revenues, and yet greatly profit, and enable Mr. Grey to serve her. I doubt not but that he will do this faithfully, but Her Majesty will have cause to think whatever she does for him, well bestowed, and you also, to find both honour and comfort in helping such a one as will be ever ready to do what in him lies, to deserve your courtesy, and to account you patron of all your good hope. If my suit be known before Her Majesty's good will is settled to it, then, I fear, that the old courtier will upset it. I commit it wholly to you.

Postscript. To make Mr. Grey the more able to serve Her Majesty, Mr. Bertie gives him a hundred pounds' land, with his daughter. I would gladly have my letter and suit, unknown save to you and Her Majesty, so that if you think that Mr. Grey should need set up other candles before his other friends, it might be done in such time, as they might thereby, have more occasion to further than to hinder him. I am ashamed to send you such a bleared letter, but it is like the matter, I pray you to bear with both at this time, for a grieved heart, makes a shaking hand.*

This letter is written from Wrest, the Grey's house in Bedfordshire. The spelling of the letter is even more

* *Salisbury MSS.*, Vol. I, p. 478.

peculiar than usual, but evidently Cecil's answer somewhat mollified her, for in her next letter, dated August the fifth, she is less bitter.

I pray you to think, that I am as ready to be a friend to you in every point as you can desire. I did not, in my last letter, make any mention of it, for any grief conceived against you, but to make a friendly quarrel; that unkindness, once got rid of, friendship might the more surely be remedy, which I, on my part, shall never fail in towards you, to my power. I thank you most heartily for your gentle delivery of my letter, with your good furtherance of the same, praying you, as occasion shall serve, to help perfect what is well begun, or else I know, fair words, and long promises take evil and small effect. There is good reason to think that Her Majesty cannot well consider of Mr. Grey, to give, or recompense in lands, before the next term. But for the show of Her Majesty's favour, if it be to such as the Queen think have deserved it, I think an hour too long to hide it from such a one. I speak as I feel, and therefore beg pardon. If I thought one worthy of a good turn that was in my power, I should think the time longer till I had done it than they could which should receive it. So that Her Majesty might more speedily part with that which would cost her nothing, but rather set forth her favourable and most gracious consideration, to restore her poor subjects to their rights. Of Mr. Grey, you speak somewhat comfortably, but of my husband, I hear nothing of Her Majesty's determination, but of your good report and loving mind to do him good. As, little as Her Majesty sets by us, we may comfort ourselves in this, that we have been hers dutifully and truly, or less peradventure, we might have had more friends to have helped us to have sped better. But we have, and will set all other respects aside, and rest only on God, and continue our duties to our prince. You will me to follow my suit when Her Majesty comes near. I declare, that I am so evil a beggar that I had as lief go without all as become a lingering beggar for it, for who knows at Michaelmas, which is ten weeks to, who shall then be to give, or take; so brittle a metal we be of, and so small certainty in our

lives. This I say but to prove that good things should not be deferred, but done when they may. Though I trust in God, Her Majesty's life shall be long and prosperous, yet my years draw on, even to the brink. It is true, that to my knowledge, neither Lord Willoughby hath sought to do anything against me that way, since Her Majesty's reign. But this I know, that there is good account made, that when I die, my children shall lose my title. And these words have passed plentifully ; and as I wrote, they have been spoken to my face the last day, and therefore I will think, if I find no more favour in my lifetime, it is very likely that their words will prove true after my death. But what do I caring for all these things, seeing all resteth in the hands of God. And yet I cannot but show my natural desire to have my children succeed me, which desire I think, is in every honest body. And if my husband might take his place, then should my right be well known to the world with none to strive against it ; as also Her Majesty's favour towards me, greatly showed. And now, or never, do I look for it, for if, at my daughter's marriage, we lack it, when all our friends shall be together, what countenance of Her Majesty's favour shall I have to show for me, amongst them, who have been persuaded that Her Majesty hath had great misliking of me, since my waiting on her the last progress. Thus with my hearty thanks for all your great courtesies, I commit you to the ever living God, whom I pray to hold His merciful hand over all England, if it be His will.

fr. Wrest.

Postscript. I have willed the bearer to say something to you from me, wherein I pray you to hear him, and return me, by him, your good advice.

Postscript. RICHARD BERTIE to WILLIAM CECIL.

The Duchess fears that her suit will be altogether fruitless, unless, by the help of her friends, they shortly have a successful issue. The right is such, it cannot be impugned. If there is any dislike of myself, so the right may be confirmed, I can willingly forbear the title, being but a shadow, and content me with the body, and say with Virgil, "*Dii bebe fecerunt inopen me, quoque pusilli*

finxere esser sic animi." Next week, we meet in Lincolnshire, with the strangers, minding to inhabit there. I hope you will hear of some good success to cause you to like well of your travail in the matter.*

Five days later, the Duchess writes again to Cecil :

I am so desirous to do well, and yet so unfortunate to happen on it that I cannot but trouble my friends for their advice, amongst the which I have at this time, only chosen to trouble you, which hath least need of trouble, and most to do. We hear say that the Queen's Majesty cometh not at all to Towtendington [Tuddington], but returns from Penley. Out of Warwickshire, we hear for certain that she is looked for, and greatly prepared for at Kenilworth. If it be true that Her Majesty goeth there from Penley, I would gladly do my duty to her before she goes out of the country, coming so near lest Her Majesty might charge me, as she did at Hampton Court, for too long deferring it ; and, on the other side, I fear I may come too soon, and so come ere I be welcome. I would very fain do the best, and therefore earnestly require your advice therein. And, a little more, that if you think it best for me to come, that you would speak but one good word for me to the harbingers, in case my man shall not be able to entreat them to some lodging near the Court. For Penley is twelve miles hence, and I am not able to do my duty, and go home again the same night. And now, praying God be with you with my hearty commendations to you, I leave further trouble to you, but if good occasion serve, I would gladly speak with you.

Fr. Wrest.

Methinks time goeth faster than it was wont to do. Therefore those that have great feast towards, had in time, need to provide for their "gyes," and lest you consider not enough my case therein, I am so bold as to send you a short "bely" [billet] of their names.

Postscript. Mr. Bertie is gone into the country four days since. If my "gyes" be not rightly placed, there may be an evil.†

* *Salisbury MSS.*, Vol. I, pp. 479-81.

† *Ibid.*, p. 481, No. 1512.

The Duchess's anxiety about her lodgings at Penley was not unnatural. The Queen's progress always attracted vast throngs of people, and the stringent disciplinary rules of Henry VIII's reign were still in force. One of the rules is to the following effect :

The Harbingers are to charge those to whom they give lodgings, that no one take victual, or corn, without the consent of the owner, and the paying for it at the King's price, nor destroy any man's deer, or coneyes.

In her requests to Cecil, the Duchess acknowledges that he has much to do ; it is possible that he found her rather exacting in her demands and hinted as much, for in the following May, she addresses herself to Lord Berkeley, who was her neighbour in Cripplegate. Suzan Bertie had in the meanwhile married Reginald Grey.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO LORD BERKELEY.

I thank your Lordship for your courteous using of me. Son Grey yesternight, also told me how friendly talk it pleased you to use of me in him, perceiving by the same that it was not for lack of friendship, or for any alteration of your good mind towards me that you made such haste from me, but for very grief and pain that you were in, while your Lordship talked to me, as I partly perceived, and was sore to trouble you, but that I could find no other time granted to talk with you.

The Duchess then complains of the Queen's capricious behaviour to her :

Surely I must confess Her Majesty's strange countenance, and your Lordship's short words, were no little grief to me, and more than I was able, on the sudden, to digest. But when, with better leisure, I remembered, that though men failed me yet God would be merciful to me, it made me of better comfort, and so, wholly reposing myself on Him, I thought it best to leave my just and lawful suits only to Him. However, at His good pleasure, He can bring strange things to pass.*

* *Cal. S. P.*, Elizabeth Dom., Vol. LXVIII, No. 18.

In spite, however, of this pious resolution, the Duchess again appeals to Lord Berkeley :

I had thought, my good Lord, never to have been troublesome to you more, but now, more occasion serveth me so to do. I would gladly have showed your Lordship such talk as passed between Her Majesty and me at the taking of my leave, but seeking you in your chamber, I could not find you. It pleased Her Majesty to say of herself, that she could not gorge [gauge] my son's matter. I said, I left it even to God and Her Majesty. Only this grieved me that I heard the poor gentleman should fare the worse for my sake. Her Majesty answered most graciously, " God defend that," and acknowledged to me that he had good right indeed to his name for the law was fully with him in it.

Then, after referring to some property which had formerly belonged to the Grey family, the Duchess again complains that the Queen has been prejudiced against her and her husband :

For it is common talk, both in the Court, and out of it that if my son were an earl, then my Lady of Suffolk's daughter should have a high place. But as mean born as she, hath enjoyed as high a place and a great deal higher. And if I had indeed sought as great a marriage as I could for her (as is well known I took him, that nobody made any account of), yet if I had sought to have bestowed her with the best, I had therein been no monster, for I know no one that is natural but would do the like for their child, though they were as mean born as mine. But rather than her husband should lose his right for her sake, I will promise that she shall never come abroad to challenge or sue such place. A kerchief* knit about her head at home, shall serve her well enough. And that you may perceive, I looked for that that follows, I have got at my son's hands, a letter, which I wrote in answer to one

* Close-fitting linen caps, sometimes winged, with an overcap of coloured cloth, were the customary head-dress for women and children. For out-of-doors wear a hood was added, and frequently over this—particularly by married women—a high-crowned hat.—*Shakespeare's England*, Vol. II, p. 3.

of his, when my husband was in Her Majesty's service in the north, if it shall please you to take the pains to read it. And so I conclude with my earnest request to your Lordship that for your honour's sake, besides your good friendship ever borne me that it may please you to further law and right which not only doth good to one, but is the preservation of us all, for these broken, the whole commonwealth is shaken. Lastly, craving pardon for my foolish, bold letter, I commit your Lordship to the Almighty.

Your Lordship's most assure friend to my power,
K. Suffolk.*

The Duchess may well have wearied people with her suit, but her perseverance was rewarded in the end. This same year Reginald Grey assumed the titles of eighth Baron Grey de Ruthyn and fifth Earl of Kent, having "by frugality much improved his fortune." However, he did not long enjoy the restoration of his family honours. He was one of the peers who tried the Duke of Norfolk, and he died very soon after. He was succeeded by his brother Henry, a most disagreeable character, who behaved with great brutality at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay. Richard Bertie complains that on one occasion the Earl of Kent treated him with such insolence that he had the greatest difficulty in restraining his servants from retaliating. Bertie writes :

I intend to wear out my Lord's malice with patience, but if that way fails me, I must prepare a rough wedge for a rough knot.†

Considering that his title had been revived at the instance of Bertie and the Duchess, the Earl's insolence sounds inexcusable.

In view of the early death of her son-in-law, it seems ironical that the Duchess succeeded in obtaining a revival of his title, but failed to get the Willoughby title for her

* *Cal. S. P., Elizabeth Dom., Vol. LXXVIII, No. 42.*

† Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 47.

husband. One of the obstacles in the latter case was, undoubtedly, Bertie's birth. The Earl of Arundel, referred to by the Duchess as "the old courtier," who "grudged that any others than themselves should fare well," was the leader of the opposition. Writing to Cecil in August 1571, Bertie says :

My Lord of Arundel (I am informed, more of his accustomed good nature than of my desert), told the Queen, I was no gentleman which perhaps, being otherwise unwilling, somewhat stayeth, but if that respect had stayed Her Majesty's ancestors in the time of Fitzalan, Bailiff of London, my Lord should have lacked his lordship now to embroil others. As I have no cause, so I am no wit ashamed of my parents, being free English, neither villeins, nor traitors. And if I would, after the manner of the world, bring forth old Abbey scrolls for matter of record, I am sure, I can reach back as far as Fitzalan. And if such scrolls be too old, yet I am not a gentleman of the first escutcheon; the arms I give, I received from my father, and they are the same which are mentioned in the scroll that he shewed to the heralds, and confirmed by Clarentius, the old man that was in King Henry's time.*

In calling his ancestors no traitors Bertie was alluding to the Earl of Arundel's imprisonment the previous year, for complicity in the Norfolk plot. But the allusion to the first Lord Mayor of London is less happy; Henry Fitz Ailwyn had no connection at all with the Fitzalan family. Bertie's assertion that old abbey scrolls would attest the ancient lineage of the Bertie family, bears out the claim that has often been made since by his descendants. It is quite possible, although no direct descent can be proved, that Richard Bertie was descended from Leopold de Bertie, the Constable of Dover in the reign of King Ethelred. And as the recurrence of Christian names in families has always a certain significance, it is interesting to note that in 1445 two Berties, named Thomas and

* *Salisbury MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 284-3.

Richard, obtained the lease of the Manor of Otham (Igtham) for the space of eight years at a rental of one hundred shillings.* There is, however, conclusive evidence that Richard Bertie's father began life as a mason. And though, as Bertie says, the arms that were granted to Thomas Bertie were those in the abbey scroll, the grant of 1550 was explicitly a new one, "devised, ordeyned, gyven and graunted," and not a confirmation.

Another reason for opposing Bertie's claim to assume the Willoughby title was that in the event of his outliving the Duchess, it would prejudice the right of his son. Bertie did outlive the Duchess, and as he had not been granted his wife's title, it was assumed by Peregrine.

In 1572 Bertie was notified that the Queen would inform him of her decision at Theobalds, but when the moment arrived Elizabeth, as usual, preferred to defer her reply. She was then about to start on her progress, and "the time not serving," Bertie was kept in suspense until the last day of the Queen's visit to Kenilworth. Even then, a direct answer was not forthcoming, but Bertie, with praiseworthy intuition, came to Elizabeth's rescue. Appreciating her difficulty, he obligingly declared that "he held himself satisfied, for the cause why he desired the hearing of his right, and interest, was specially to deliver Her Majesty from error that she, by wrong information, had conceived, that there was no such right." †

It was a graceful way of accepting the shadow for the substance, but it must have been a bitter disappointment to the Duchess after all her trouble.

* From an original indenture which, in February 1843, was in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Streatfield of Chart's Edge, near Westerham.—Lady Georgina Bertie, *Two Generations of a Loyal House*, App. 469.

† Collins' *Peerage*.

CHAPTER XXXI

Dr. Browne—Burghley's letter to Archbishop Whitgift—Death of Lady Mary Keyes—Her Will—Peregrine Bertie—A marriage with Elizabeth Cavendish proposed for him—Her marriage with the Earl of Lennox—Lady Mary de Vere.

AT this period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the new book of Common Prayer was meeting with much opposition, and Archbishop Whitgift addressed a letter to the Queen on the subject of the objectors.* Amongst them was a Dr. Browne, one of the Duchess of Suffolk's chaplains, who was so unorthodox that the Duchess received orders to send him to London to be questioned.† The investigations must have proved very lengthy, as in July 1584, four years after the Duchess's death, we find Cecil interceding with the Archbishop on behalf of the chaplain.

LORD BURGHLEY to ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

I know that Dr. Browne has many faults, but I hope that he has not given cause for offence as your letter expresses. You promised to deal only with such as violated order, but now, by examination, you seek to make them excuse themselves, a proceeding which I consider "skant charitable." I have no leisure to write more, & writing will but increase the offence, & I do not mean to offend. You, & the Bishops may use Dr. Browne as you think fit, but if it is meant to sift him with the 24 Articles, I have cause to pity the poor man.‡

April 1578 saw the end of Lady Mary Keyes's sad existence. Judging by the dispositions that she made in her will, the only people from whom she had received any

* *MSS. of the Inner Temple*, II Report, folio 21.

† *Ibid.*, folio 17.

‡ *Ibid.*, folio 507. There was a sect known as Brownists.

kindness were the Duchess and her family. Lady Mary had little enough to leave, for, as her stepfather outlived her, she never succeeded to the reversion of her mother's property. Describing herself as "Lady Mary Keyes of the parish of St. Botolph's, without Aldersgate, widow, of whole mind, & of good, & perfect remembrance," Lady Mary bequeaths :

To my very good Lady & Grandmother, the Duchess of Suffolk, One pair of hand bracelettes of goulde, with a jacinte stone in eatche bracelette, which bracelettes were my Lady Grace, my mother's, or else my juell of unycornes horne. Whichsoever herr Grace refuseth, I geave & bequeathe to my verie good ladie Suzan, Countess of Kente. To my Lady Mary Bartye and to her husband, I leave my best gilt cup & the best silver & gilt salt cellar.*

As Suzan Bertie continued to call herself Countess of Kent after her marriage to her second husband, Sir John Wingfield, this will is no guide as to the date of the marriage, but it proves that Peregrine Bertie was married to Lady Mary de Vere early in 1578.

Peregrine Bertie had been brought up in Cecil's household and, as Cecil was Master of the Wards, Peregrine probably shared their education. He is described as making "great progress in learning and courtly accomplishments," but a similar description would probably have been given of any other youth under Cecil's charge, and it is curious that while the Duke of Suffolk's sons were noted scholars, Richard Bertie's son was to distinguish himself not as a scholar but as a soldier. Sir Robert Naunton speaks of him as "one of the Queen's first swordsmen," † while Lloyd says of him :

I have heard it spoken that had he not slighted the court but applied himself to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace ; & it was his saying, & it did him no good, that he was none of the

* *Styrye*, Vol. II, P. 11, p. 210.

† *Fragmenta Regalia*.

Reptilia: intimating that he could not creep on the ground; & that a Court became a soldier of good skill as a bed of down would one of the Tower lions.*

Such sentiments would certainly not tend to ingratiate Peregrine Bertie with Elizabeth; but he was highly esteemed as a soldier; in an age of heroes, his military exploits seem to have fired the imagination of his countrymen more, perhaps, than those of any of his contemporaries. He enjoyed the somewhat ephemeral fame of having taverns named after him, and his achievements were celebrated in song. The ballad of *The Brave Lord Willoughby* † was a seventeenth-century production, but *Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home*, sung to *Lord Willoughby's March*, was composed in his own day. (A sixteenth-century music-book at Eridge, lettered "My Lady Nevill's Booke," ‡ contains the only known copy of *Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home*.) Unhappily, his mother did not live to enjoy her son's fame, and while her Brandon sons were an unqualified source of pride, Peregrine Bertie caused his mother much anxiety and disappointment, notably in the matter of his marriage.

When he was only seventeen there was a question of his marrying Elizabeth Cavendish, the second daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury (better known as Bess of Hardwick). What prevented the marriage does not appear; but the Duchess of Suffolk is referred to in the

* Lloyd's *Worthies*.

† Printed for F. Coles near Hatton Gardens. Earliest extant copies apparently printed about 1640. "A true relation of a famous and bloody battle, fought in Flanders by the noble and valiant Lord Willoughby with 1500 English against 40,000 Spaniards, where the English obtained a notable victory for the glory of God and renown of our nation. To the tune of Lord Willoughby."

Copies extant in Roseburgh, Pepys and Bayford Collection of Broadside sheets.

‡ The music in this book is the work of J. Baldwin, "a singing man" of Windsor and a celebrated copyist in his day. Among other songs in the book are *My Lady Nevile's Grounde* and *Hugh Ashton's Grounde*. At the end of the book there is a paragraph stating that it was finished on September 11, 1591. The title-page bears the Nevill arms and the initials F. N. The book was the property of Francis, Lady Abergavenny.

letter that describes the young lady's subsequent marriage with the Earl of Lennox. Lady Margaret Douglas, the young Earl's mother, was an old acquaintance of the Duchess. They had both been in the French Queen's household. The Countess had remained a rigid Catholic, and though she was on very bad terms with her daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth's ministers deemed it advisable that she should live in the royal residence at Stepney near London rather than at Temple Newsam, Lord Darcy's old home on the Aire, which had been granted to the Earl of Lennox on his marriage. In 1574, however, in consequence of an alleged plot to kidnap her grandson, the King of Scotland, the Countess obtained leave to go to the north, and on her way she broke her journey at Rufford Abbey as the guest of the Countess of Shrewsbury. The young Earl of Lennox had accompanied his mother, and after a very hurried courtship at Rufford he married Elizabeth Cavendish, the bride who had been talked of for Peregrine Bertie. As was invariably the case when she was not consulted about a marriage, Elizabeth was furious, and a peremptory letter was sent to the Countess, commanding her and her son to return instantly to London. Fearing what might await her, the Countess addressed the following letter to the Earl of Leicester :

December 3rd, 1574.

My very good Lord,

The great unquietness & trouble that I have had with the passing these dangerous waters which hath many times enforced me to leave the way which hath been such hindrance to me that hitherto I have not answered your Lordship's letters, chiefly on that point wherein your Lordship, with my other friends (as your Lordship says), seem ignorant how to answer for me. And being forced to stay this present Friday in Huntingdon, somewhat to refresh myself & my overlaboured mules that are both crooked & lame with their extreme labour by the way, I thought good to open to your Lordship, in these few lines,

what I have to say for me, touching on my going to Rufford Abbey, to my Lady of Shrewsbury, both being thereunto very earnestly requested, & the place being not one mile distant out of my way. Yea, & a much fairer way as is well to be proved, & my Lady meeting me herself upon the way, I could not well refuse, being near thirty miles from Sheffield. And as it was well known to all the country thereabouts that great provison was made both for my Lady Suffolk & me, who friendly brought me on the way to Grantham, & so departed home again, neither she, nor I, knowing any such thing till the morning after I came to Newark. And so I meant simply & well, so did I least mistrust that my doings should be taken in part, for at my coming from Her Majesty, I perceived that she misliked of my Lady of Shrewsbury being at Chatsworth, I asked Her Majesty, if I were bidden thither, if I might go. She prayed me not, lest it might be thought I did agree with the Queen of Scots. And I asked Her Majesty, if she should think so, for I was made of flesh & blood, & could never forget the murder of my child [Darnley]. And she, Mary, by her faith, she could not think so that ever I could forget it, for if I would, I were a devil. Now my Lord, for that hasty marriage of my son Charles, after that he had entangled himself so that he could have done none other, I refer the same to your Lordship's good consideration, whether it was not most fitly for me to marry them, he being my only son & comfort, that is left to me. And your Lordship can bear me witness, how desirous I have been to have a match for him other than this. And the Queen's Majesty, much to my comfort, to that end, gave me good words at my departure.*

But the Countess's pleas were to be of no avail : the Queen was inexorable, and the Countess of Lennox and the Countess of Shrewsbury were both sent to the Tower. The former was not released for four months. She writes plaintively :

Thrice have I been sent into prison not for matters of treason, but for love matters. First, when Thomas

* *State Papers, Domestic*, quoted in *Bess of Hardwick*, by M. S. Rawson, p. 151.

Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was in love with me ; then for the love of Henry Darnley, my son, to Queen Mary, lastly for the love of Charles, my younger son, to Elizabeth Cavendish.

The Earl of Shrewsbury thought it incumbent on him to intervene on behalf of his wife. He writes to the Queen :

And may it please your Majesty, I understand of late your Majesty's displeasure is sought against my wife for the marriage of her daughter to Lady Lennox's son. I must confess to your Majesty, as true is, it was dealt in suddenly, without my knowledge, but as I dare undertake & insure to your Majesty, for my wife, finding her daughter disappointed of young Barté, where she hoped, & the other young gentleman was inclined to love with a few days' acquaintance, did her best to further her daughter to this match, without having therein any other intent, or respect, than with reverent duty towards your Majesty, she ought.*

Mothers seem to have been the same inveterate match-makers then as in more recent days, and although the Earl of Shrewsbury seeks to excuse his wife to the Queen, he is very outspoken in his comments to the Earl of Leicester :

There are few noblemen's sons in England that my Lady, my wife, had not praid me to dele fore at one tyme, or another ; so I did for my Lord of Rutland, with my Lord Sussex for my Lord Wharton & sundry others ; & now this comes unlooked for, without thanks to me.†

The reason why Peregrine Bertie did not marry Elizabeth Cavendish is not known, possibly he objected to having a wife chosen for him as, when he did marry, it was of his own choice in the face of the strongest opposition. Lady Mary de Vere's brother, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, had married Cecil's eldest daughter, Anne,

* *Shrewsbury MSS.* (in the Heralds College, Talbot letters), Vol. F, 1 fol., No. 663.

† Lodge's *Illustrious Persons*, Vol. II, p. 123.

and it was probably in Cecil's house that Peregrine Bertie first met his future wife.

In 1576-7, Eleanor Bridges writes to the Earl of Rutland :

The Queen has used Mary Shelton very ill for her marriage. She hath dealt liberally both with blows, & words, & hath not yet granted her consent. Lady Mary de Vere is sworn one of the Privy Chamber. The Court is as full of malice, & spite, as when you left it.*

Lady Mary de Vere was the daughter of the sixteenth Earl of Oxford by his second wife, Margery Golding. The Nevill bride, whom the Earl had married in Shoreditch in 1536, had left an only daughter, who was now married to Lord Windsor.

The name of a possible suitor for Lady Mary is mentioned very soon after her appointment as one of the Queen's ladies. Another correspondent of the Earl Rutland's writes :

Most think that a marriage will take effect between the Earl of Hertford & Mrs. Francis Howard & also between Lord Garrat & Lady Mary Vere.†

Lord Garrat is difficult to identify. The Attorney-General, Sir Gilbert Gerard, is sometimes called Garrett, but it seems more likely that the husband suggested for Lady Mary was a member of the Fitzgerald family.

The marriage was evidently contemplated, for in another letter to the Earl of Rutland, it is stated that :

This will be a long Lent to Lady Mary Vere & Mrs. Sydney for at Easter consummation erit. The Earl of Oxford is in the old sort.‡

* *Rutland MSS.*, Cal. I, p. 95.

† *Ibid.*, p. 115.

‡ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXXII

The Duchess's opposition to her son's marriage with Lady Mary—Letter to Cecil—Lord Oxford's behaviour to his wife—Peregrine Bertie's letter to Lady Mary—The Duchess becomes reconciled to the marriage—Letter to Cecil about the Earl of Oxford—Peregrine Bertie's marriage with Lady Mary—Sir Thomas Cecil's letter to Lord Burghley reporting differences between the couple—The Duchess's letter to the Earl of Leicester complaining of her daughter-in-law—Lady Mary's loyalty as a wife—Augustine Bernher's dedication to the Duchess of another edition of *Latimer's Sermons*—Death of the Duchess—Peregrine Bertie assumes his mother's title—Death of Richard Bertie—Monument at Spilsby.

WHATEVER the cause may have been, Lady Mary did not marry Lord Garrat at Easter, and by July Peregrine Bertie, who was now twenty-two, had become her declared lover, much to the annoyance of his parents.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK TO LORD BURGHELY. *July 2nd, 1577.*

It is very true that my wise son has gone very far with my Lady Mary Vere, I fear too far to turn. I must say to you in counsel what I have said to her plainly that I had rather that he had matched in any other place, & I told her the causes. Her friends made small account of me, her brother did what in him lay to deface my husband & my son; besides our religions agree not, & I cannot tell what more. If she should prove like her brother, if an empire follows her, I should be sorry to match so. She said that she could not rule her brother's tongue, nor help the rest of his faults, but for herself, she trusted so to use her[self] as I should have no cause to mislike her. And seeing it was so far forth between my son & her, she desired my good will, & asked no more. "That is a seemly thing," quoth I, "for you to live on; for I fear that Master Bertie will so mislike these dealings, that he will give little more than his good will, if he will give that.

Besides, if Her Majesty shall mislike of it, sure we turn him to the wide world." She told me how Lord Sussex, & Master Hatton had promised to speak for her to the Queen, & that I would require you to do the like. I told her, her brother used you, & your daughter so evil, that I could not require you to deal in it. Well, if I would write, she knew you would do it for my sake ; & since there was no undoing it, she trusted I would for my son's sake, help now.

Then after explaining that the Queen had been annoyed with her because she had kept her son away from the Court, the Duchess goes on to say :

But God knows, I did not so, but for fear of this marriage & quarrels. Within this fortnight, there was one spoke to me for Mistress Gaymege, an heir of a thousand marks land, which had been a meeter match for my son.*

A fortnight later the Duchess wrote to Burghley again on the subject of her son's marriage :

My good Lord,

I received this letter here enclosed yesterday, from my husband, wherein your Lordship may perceive his heart is troubled, as I [can] not blame him. But if he knew as much as I do of my Lord of Oxford's dealings, it would trouble him more. But the case standing as it does, I mean to keep it from him. . . . I cannot express how much this grieveth me that my son, in the weightiest matter, hath so far forgotten himself to the trouble & disquiet of his friends, & like enough to be his own undoing & the young lady's too. For if my Lord of Oxford's wilfulness comes to my husband's ears. I believe he would make his son but a small marriage. I wot not what to do therein. If I should stay for Her Majesty's good will in it & my husband far off from it, you know he cannot take that well at my hand, that I should seek to bestow his son as it were against his will. . . . And so I am dead at my wit's end. And yet I think, if Her Majesty could be won to like it, I am

* *Salisbury MSS., Cal. XIII, No. 146.*

sure my husband would be the easier won to it, if my Lord of Oxford's great uncourteousness does not too much trouble him.

from Willoughby House, this 14th day of July.*

It is clear that the Earl of Oxford was as much opposed to the marriage as the Duchess. He had behaved very badly to his own wife. In 1575 the Queen had granted him leave to travel abroad for a year; on his return he refused to see his wife, and the daughter who had been born during his absence, although he had no grounds whatever for supposing that Lady Oxford had been unfaithful to him. At this time he was professing a great admiration for the Queen, which delighted Elizabeth, but made his wife very unhappy. The Earl's Catholic leanings were very distasteful to the Duchess; moreover, he must have been one of the peers who sided with the Earl of Arundel in opposing Bertie's claim to the Willoughby title. But none of these considerations had any weight with Peregrine Bertie, who addressed the following ardent letter to Lady Mary:

My owne good Lady,

I am not a little grieved that I have not, ere this time, resolved the doubt I left you in, & so much the more as I fear it hath caused you unquietness, of which I make more account than of myself, or life, & therefore, resolve yourself that if I had had fit time, I would not have so slightly overpassed it. But the truth is, by other troubles, I have yet heard nothing of that matter worth the sending. Yet did I think not to lose so much occasion since I know not when to recover it again, as to let you know how uncourteously I am dealt with by my Lord, your brother, who, as I hear, bandeth against me, & sweareth my death which I fear not, nor force not, but lest his displeasure withdraw your affection towards me, otherwise, I think no way to be so offended as I cannot defend, and thus, good Lady, persuade yourself no less than you shall find me, I will give cause, or perform above all things, if you wish me well, let nothing grieve you, whatsoever you shall

* *Salisbury MSS.*, Cal. II, p. 156.

hear do hap. For my own part, my good or evil fortune consisteth only on you, whom I must request to accept as well this scribbled well meaning as better eloquence, excusing my imperfections with my troubled mind, which are locked up so fast, I could scarce get pens & paper to be the present messengers of my poor good will, & thus end a wilful man, having received new occasion by your letter, at this instant, to trouble you more hereafter withal.

from Willoughby House.

Yours more than his own, & so till the end,

PEREGRINE BERTIE.*

In November a correspondent writes to the Earl of Rutland :

The marriage of Lady Mary Vere is deferred until after Christmas, for as yet, neither has Her Majesty given licence, nor has the Earl of Oxford wholly assented thereto.

By December, however, the Duchess had been won over, and had become sufficiently friendly with her future daughter-in-law to enlist her help in a scheme to bring about a meeting at the Barbican between the Earl of Oxford and the baby daughter whom he had never seen. Writing to consult Lord Burghley about the project, the Duchess says :

My very good Lord,

Upon Tuesday last, Harry Cook being here, & my daughter † entering into the talk with him of my Lord Oxford, of his sister, of my Lady, his wife & the young Lady, his daughter, at the last, he uttered these speeches that he thought my Lord would very gladly see the child if he could devise to see her & not to go to her. My daughter said, she thought if it might so like him, my Lady, your wife, would send the child to him : but to that he answered, my Lord would not have it known that he so much desired to see the child. So, because it was a young man's words, I took no great hold of it.

* *Ancaster MSS.*

† Suzan, Countess of Kent.

On Thursday, I went to see my Lady Mary Vere. After other talks, she asked me what I would say to it if my Lord, her brother would take his wife again. "Truly," quoth I, "nothing would comfort me more, for now I wish to your brother as much good as to my own son." "Indeed," quoth she, "he would very fain see the child, & is loth to send for her." "Then," quoth I, "an you will keep my counsel, we will have some sport with him. I will see if I can get the child hither to me, when you shall come hither; & whilst my Lord, your brother, is with you, I will bring in the child as though it were some other child of my friend's, & we shall see how nature will work in him to like, & tell him, it is his own after." "Very well," quoth she; "so we agree hereon." Notwithstanding, I mean not to delay in it otherwise than it shall seem good to your Lordship, & in that sort that may best like you. I will do what I can either in that, or in anything else that may any way lay in me. If it be clear about your house here in London,* I think, if it may so please you, it were good that both my Lady of Oxford & the child were there, & so the child might be quickly brought hither, at my Lord's being here. I would wish speed that he might be taken in his good mood. I thank God, I am at this present, in his good favour. For one, besides his sister & Harry Cook, told me that my Lord would fain have the child a while in my house, with his sister, & no doubt of it, if he be not crossed in this his liking, he will sure have me laid to, & then I trust, all things will follow to your desire. I hear he is about to buy a house here in London, about Watling Street, & not to continue a courtier as he hath done; but I pray you to keep all these things secreet, or else you may undo those that do take pains to bring it to pass, if my Lord's counsel should be betrayed before he list himself. And above all things, my credit would be lost with him, if he should know, I dealt in anything without his consent; & therefore, my good Lord, I pray you to keep it secreet, & write me two or three words what you would have me to do in it.

And thus with my very hearty commendations, I commit your Lordship to God, whom I pray to work all

* Cecil House, in the Strand.

things to your comfort. From Willoughby House, this fifteenth of December.

Your Lordship's very assured friend,
K. Suffolk.

It is not known whether the Duchess's scheme was ever carried into effect ; in any case the Earl of Oxford did not return to his wife until two or three years later.

Peregrine Bertie's marriage to Lady Mary de Vere must have taken place early in 1578, for in March of that year the Duchess writes to Lord Burghley to ask him " to grant her daughter Mary and her husband a bill of impost for two tuns of wine to be taken at Boston or Hull." Large quantities of wine were still being shipped from Bordeaux to Boston at this time, but the trade must have languished subsequently, for most of the cellars in Spain Lane, Boston, which had been rented by the abbeyes for the bestowal of these cargoes, were destroyed in 1590. The Duchess handed over Grimsthorpe to the young couple. From the following letter that Sir Thomas Cecil * wrote to his father, the marriage did not go well at first.

SIR THOMAS CECIL TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My wife & I, have of late, made a little progress in Lincolnshire, to such of our friends as we have there ; where we have been greatly entertained, & in some respect, I was the willinger to bring her into that country, to have her liking to the place, where I mean to build, for that I mean to leave it for her jointure. Thus, being on our way from Grantham to my Lady of Suffolk's [Grimsthorpe], which I take in my way homewards, I have nothing else to write unto your Lordship worth the sending. And as touching such disagreements that have fallen out there, I shall better satisfy your Lordship by my next letters, after that I have been there, than now I can ; but at this far, I understand, that my Lady of Suffolk's coming from London, was to appease certain

* Sir Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, was the elder son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, by his first wife, Mary Cheke. He married Dorothy, daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Latimer.

unkindnesses, grown between her son & his wife. More particularly as yet, I cannot write at this time, but I think my Lady Mary will be beaten with the rod, which heretofore, she prepared for others. For it is an old saying, "In quo peccateir eadem puniter."

From Mr. Hall's House, by Stamford.

Postscript. I beseech your Lordship, to excuse me towards my Lord Howard, for the simple entertainment he found at Burleigh, being neither my wife nor myself at home, with my great thanks for his good accepting thereof, which I understand by my cousin Cheke, he did.*

It seems quite possible that Sir Thomas Cecil's resentment at the Earl of Oxford's treatment of his wife led him to be unduly severe on the Earl's sister, but the last letter from the Duchess that has been preserved gives a very unpleasant impression of Lady Mary. This letter is dated March 1579-80; in it the Duchess complains of having been accused by Lady Mary of designs upon her life.

To the right honourable, & my vere good lord, the erlle off lysseter.

I am very sorry that it is my evil fortune to be troublesome to any of my friends, specially being brought to the same by the evil hap of my dear son's marriage, by whom I had hoped to have comfort in my old days, which, by any his deserts towards me, I have found no other cause of grief than by his unadvised & unlucky choice of a fair lady [foreign] to full manners. Now, I hear by some of my friends, [she] hath in these few days, shown such a letter of mine, as doth show how near I went to lose my head, if she had not by good hap, escaped some dangers, as it seemeth, wrought to her by me. What they were, I know not. But it shall please Her Majesty to be so much my gracious lady, to appoint any to examine me of any doings towards her. I trust they shall find no likelihood in me of losing my head, nay, nor wrong in writing of my sharp letter, all circumstances considered. And as for Treason, I am sure that it is far from my heart as it could never be written by my hand. So far, I am sure,

* *Salisbury MSS.*

there is no cause to part my head from my body, & for felony, or murder, any ways meant by me to my fair lady, as that might be a hanging matter, so I will not wish that to either of us that deserved it best, but [will] leave the revenge to God to whom I pray to deliver my innocence from wicked & most malicious slanders. I thank God, I am not the beginner of complaints, & even so I trust, by his help, in the end, if I may be heard, [that] the shame will rest where it should. But I lament that I have deserved no better of such good lady, as hath given so sad judgment of me as the loss of my head. God be praised, that hath not ordained such to take away lyffe at the hearing of the first tale. Surely such hasty judges may be thought rather to consent to murder, than ever I shall be proved, by word, or deed, and lest I might be wrong taken in these words, I will open myself. Now, by their judgments, I escaped well that I had not lost my head. As, if I had deserved it, then it had been but just. But to give such a sentence before they proved of my deserts, must needs proceed from a murderous mind. But He that rules all & knows all, I trust will move Her Majesty's heart to think no worse of me for any such words, than she hath found me, & so, by God's grace, shall find me to the end. And this concludes with my hearty thanks to them that helped me. And being so [desirous] to you, my good Lord, to give me your good word & furtherance that I may be brought by some good means to my trial of these foul slanders (wherein I shall have cause to think myself most bounden to you), which I will pray God to requite though I cannot. And so [I] commit you to Him, from my little unwholesome house of Hampstead, whither I flyed to seek quiet from these brawls, but seeing it pleaseth God to [expose] me to them even here, I now have no other shift to fly to but His special grace to give me patience to bear all these things & to keep me from deserving of shame.*

With all due allowance for possible exaggeration, Lady Mary does not seem to have behaved at all well to her mother-in-law, and it seems specially sad that the Duchess's last letter should be filled with these recrimina-

* *Cottrell Dormer MSS.*

tions as, judging by some of Lady Mary's letters that are preserved at Grimsthorpe, the early differences between the young couple were soon adjusted, and she proved a most loyal, capable wife. Peregrine Bertie spent most of his life campaigning abroad, and as Queen Elizabeth, with her accustomed parsimony, kept him ill supplied with funds, the troops had often to be paid with money supplied by Lady Mary. There is a ring at Grimsthorpe that indicates a strong attachment between husband and wife. In the oval bezel of the ring is set a plaque of crystal, engraved with a coronet, below which are two arms with hands clasped, holding a heart ; the inner face bears a similar design and the date 1585. A plate attached to the ring describes it as Lord Willoughby's wedding ring—this form of wedding ring was very popular—but as Peregrine Bertie had married in 1578, it cannot have been his original wedding ring, and it is a tribute to the happiness of the marriage that a pledge charged with so much sentiment should have been renewed seven years later.

In 1578 Augustine Bernher published another edition of *Latimer's Sermons*,* which he also dedicated to the Duchess. The following passage from the Dedication may serve as our final extract, in that it gives a truer impression of this " valiant spirit " than the sad contents of her last letter :

Unto some, the self same most gracious God gave such a valiant spirit that they were able, by His Grace, to forsake the pleasures & commodities of this world, & being armed with a patience, were content to travel into far & unknown countries, with their families & households, having small worldly provision, or none at all, but trusting in His providence, who never forsake them that trust in Him.

Whether the Duchess spent the closing year of her life at the " little unwholesome house at Hampstead," is

* Printed by John Daye " dwelling over Aldersgate."

not stated. She died on the nineteenth of September, 1580, at the age of sixty-one, and on her death her son assumed her title. Richard Bertie lived at Eresby after the Duchess's death, but only survived her eighteen months. Husband and wife are both buried in Spilsby Church, where a large monument was erected to their memory. On this monument are carved their busts in recesses, with texts from the Bible above and below. The inscription on the monument reads :

Sepulchrum D. Ricardi Bertie et Catherinae Ducissae Suffolgiae, Baronissae de Willoby de Eresby, conivg. ista obiit XIX Septemb. 1580. Ille obiit IX Aprilis, 1582.

INDEX

- Aragon, Katherine. *See* Katherine, Queen.
- Arie of Rhetorique*, by Thomas Wilson, 159, 181, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199
- Arundel, Countess of, 166
- Arundel, Earl of, 50, 158, 258, 292, 300, 311
- Aske, Christopher, 79
- Aske, Robert, rebel leader, 69, 79 note; hanged, 86
- Askew, Anne, 167; arrested, 168; burnt, 169, 170
- Askew, Sir Christopher, 68, 74, 75
- Askew, Sir William, 55, 68, 167
- Audley, Sir Thomas, Lord Chancellor, 30, 51, 82, 107
- Barlings, Abbot of, 73; executed, 83
- Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, 232
- Bassett, Anne, 89, 90, 144; at Royal christening, 94; with Countess of Sussex, 95, 98
- Bassett, Katherine, 89, 90, 94, 95, 112, 113; at Royal christening, 94; with Countess of Rutland, 98
- Baynton, Lady, sister of Jane Seymour, 139
- Beauchamp, Lady, 90. *See* Hertford, Countess of.
- Beke, Alice, 1, 12
- Beke, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, 1, 119
- Berkeley, Lord, appeal from Duchess of Suffolk, 297, 298
- Bernher, Augustine, Latimer's servant, 209; letter from Ridley, 216; Ridley's writings, 218; published Latimer's Sermons, 238
- Bertie, Lady Georgina, Authoress of *Five Generations of a Loyal House*, 201 note, 226, 229 note, 232 note, 251 note, 299 note, 301 note
- Bertie, Peregrine, 307; born, 228, 229; marries Lady Mary de Vere, 303, 309, 312, 314; letter to Lady Mary, 311; his military exploits, 304, 317
- Bertie, Richard, Usher to Duchess of Suffolk, 176; marries the Duchess, 212, 215; at Christ Church, 214; summoned before Gardiner, 219, 220, 221; leaves England, 222; with his wife at Santon, 225; at Wesel, 227; flees to Windsheim, 230; arbitrates at Frankfort, 231; journey to Poland, 233, 234; made Earl of Crozen, 234; returns to England, 251; visits the Queen, 275; member for Lincolnshire, 284; letters to Cecil, 285, 286, 287, 289, 295, 300; claims Willoughby title, 301; his death, 318
- Bertie, Suzan, daughter of Richard, 223, 226; born, 219; smallpox, 276; marries Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, 290; marries secondly, Sir J. Wingfield, 303
- Bertie, Thomas, father of Richard, 213; builds Titchfield Place, 214; Captain of Hurst Castle, 215
- Blakborn, Mrs. Margaret, 192; wardship of Agnes Woodall, 215, 251; with the Duchess of Suffolk, 223
- Boleyn, Anne, 9, 18, 19, 49, 102, 103, 139, 140, 141, 291; birth of Elizabeth, 29; sent to the Tower, 50; executed, 51
- Boleyn, Sir Thomas. *See* Earl of Wiltshire.
- Brandon, Lord Charles, son of Duke of Suffolk, 180; his birth, 48; at Cambridge, 181, 182, 191;

- his death, 192, 193; eulogies, 194; inventory of effects, 200, 201
- Brandon, Charles. *See* Suffolk, Duke of.
- Brandon, Sir Charles, Kt., 162
- Bridgewater, Earl of, buys the Barbican, 241
- Browne, Anne, 24, 25, 30 note
- Browne, Sir Anthony, constable of Calais, 24
- Browne, Sir Anthony, son of above, 76, 77, 143, 147, 161; master of the pensioners, 126
- Bryan, Sir Francis, 65, 68, 69, 72, 77, 89, 94, 105, 148
- Bucer, Martin, a reformer, 182, 183, 214; his death, 191
- Buckden Palace, 32, 33, 34, 192, 193
- Buckingham, Duke of, 10, 19 note, 35, 102
- Burghley, Lord, Cecil, William, Duchess of Suffolk's adviser, 175, 177, 179, 180, 190, 231, 253, 284; letters from the Duchess, 184, 185, 187, 189, 201, 205, 208, 236, 256, 257, 294, 295; made Secretary of State, 186; daughter marries Earl of Oxford, 259; letter to Archbishop Whitgift, 302, 303; letters from the Duchess of Suffolk, 309, 310, 312; letter from Sir Thomas Cecil, 314, 315
- Canterbury, Archbishop of. *See* Cranmer.
- Carew, Sir Nicholas, executed, 95, 105, 106
- Cecil, Sir Thomas, son of Lord Burghley, 314, 315
- Cecil, William. *See* Burghley, Lord.
- Chapuys, Cardinal, 23, 32, 34, 35; visits Queen Katherine, 40, 41; letters to the Emperor, 37, 38, 39, 57, 143, 144, 145
- Charles V, Emperor, 26, 37, 39, 42 note, 151
- Cheke, Sir John, 214; epitaph on the Brandons, 194; letter to Latimer, 211
- Chichester, Sampson, Bishop of, 108; sent to the Tower, 118
- Chomeley, Sir Roger, Recorder of London, 83, 88
- Cleves, Princess Anne of, lands at Dover, 116, 137, 138; marries Henry VIII, 117; marriage dissolved, 120; wishes to return, 144, 145
- Clifford, Lady Eleanor, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, 47, 78, 126, 158, 160, 166, 203, 285
- Clinton, Lord, 50, 61, 62, 119; Lord High Admiral, 270
- Cobham, Lord, 50; deputy of Calais, 154, 166
- Constable, Sir Marmaduke, 69, 71
- Constable, Sir Robert, 79, 136; hanged, 86
- Coverdale, Miles, Bible translation, 95; prohibited, 170; Pastor at Wesel, 232
- Cranmer, Archbishop, 55, 95, 136, 138, 169, 170; godfather to Prince Edward, 94, 96, 108; letter to the King, 144; imprisoned, 216, 232 note
- Cranwell, Richard, escorts Duchess of Suffolk, 212, 223, 224, 225
- Cromwell, Gregory, son of Thomas, 119
- Cromwell, Richard, 58, 61, 63, 65, 70, 72, 100, 119
- Cromwell, Thomas, Lord, 36, 38, 40, 41, 48, 53, 57, 60, 80, 82, 88, 91, 96, 104, 118, 122; letters from Suffolk, 92, 93, 110, 116; Bible in English, 97; letter to Duke of Norfolk, 99; letter from Duchess of Norfolk, 102; his downfall, 121; his execution, 121
- Culpepper, Thomas, lover of Katherine Howard, 134, 135, 138; examined, 139
- Cumberland, Earl of, 47, 50 note, 78
- Darcy, Lord, 69, 70, 105, 305; surrenders Pomfret Castle, 77, 78, 79
- Darnley, Henry, Lord, son of the Countess of Lennox, 307
- Delft, Van der, Ambassador, 166, 167, 170
- Dering, Francis, lover of Katherine Howard, 133, 137; examined, 139
- Devon, Earl of. *See* Exeter, Marquis of.
- Dorset, Marquis of, 20, 52, 95, 158, 174, 179, 180, 258; created Duke of Suffolk, 195 note; at Tilsey, 204; beheaded, 252

- Dorset, Marchioness, Lady Frances Brandon. *See* Suffolk, Frances, Duchess of.
- Dorset, Margaret, Marchioness of, 36, 204
- Drew, Thomas, author of play *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, 240-250
- Dudley, Sir John. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.
- Durham, Turnstall, Bishop of, letter to Privy Council, 147, 148
- Dymock, Arthur, 55, 68
- Dymock, John, agent for Duchess of Suffolk, letter to Wriothesley, 164, 165
- Dymock, Sir Lion, 73
- Dymock, Sir Robert, 55, 68
- Edward VI, 179, 181; christening, 94, 95; his death, 216
- Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of Anne Boleyn, 29, 51, 173, 174, 291, 311; accession, 253; catches smallpox, 275; at Cambridge, 284
- Exeter, Marquis of, 50, 95, 111, 122; married Lady Lisle, 89; executed, 105, 106
- Ferdinand, Archduke, 253
- Fisher. *See* Rochester, Bishop of.
- Fitzwilliam, Sir William. *See* Southampton, Earl of.
- Forrest, John, burnt at Smithfield, 96
- Francis I, King of France, 26, 27, 145
- Freeman, John, King's goldsmith, 127
- Gardiner, Bishop Stephen, 82 note, Askew plot, 167; sent to the Tower, 179; Lord Chancellor, 219; threatens Richard Bertie, 220, 221
- Gresham, Sir Thomas, gaoler of Lady Mary Grey, 258, 259
- Grey, Lady Anne, daughter of II Marquis of Dorset, 204
- Grey, Elizabeth, married first Edmund Dudley, secondly Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, 89
- Grey, Lady Jane, 89, 174, 252; buried in the Tower, 142 note; execution, 216; death warrant, 252
- Grey, Lady Katherine, marries Earl of Hertford, 253; her death, 254
- Grey, Lady Mary, 253; marries Thomas Keyes, 254; the Queen's anger, 255; in custody of Duchess of Suffolk, 256, 257; transferred to Sir T. Gresham, 258, 259; released, 259, 260; her death, 302; her will, 303
- Grey, Richard, engaged to Suzan Bertie, 290, 292, 293; becomes Earl of Kent, 299
- Grey, Lord Thomas, executed, 252
- Grimsthorpe, 7, 46, 69, 85, 87, 204, 215, 270, 314; inventory, 46, 203, 204; rebuilt by Duke of Suffolk, 126-136
- Guise, Mary of, marries James V, 116
- Haddon, Walter, Latin scholar, 194, 195, 214
- Hale, Sir Christopher, 50
- Hall, Francis, controller at Calais, 111, 112, 113, 123
- Hardwick, Bess of Hardwick. *See* Countess of Shrewsbury.
- Hastings, Sir Bryan, 70
- Hawtreys, Thomas of Chequers, 255, 256.
- Henry VII, King, 1, 7
- Henry VIII, King, 4, 18, 27, 38, 39, 41, 104, 167, 186, 202, 217; marries Jane Seymour, 51; attends wedding at Hollywell, 51; Lincolnshire rebellion, 58; letters to the Duke of Suffolk, 77, 79, 86, 149; birth of Prince Edward, 94; at Hampton Court, 105; at Westminster, 107, 108; marries Anne of Cleves, 117; separated from, 120; marries Katherine Howard, 122, 123; visits Grimsthorpe, 133; progress to York, 136; summons the Privy Council, 137; grief over Katherine, 139; contemplates war with France, 146; marries Katherine Parr, 150; war with France, 151; settles the succession, 153; at Portsmouth, 155; his death, 171
- Heneage, John, 53, 54, 56, 80, 113
- Hertford, Countess of, 98, 168, 169, 170, 212; Duchess of Somerset, her arrogance, 209; marries her secretary, 256

- Hertford, Earl of, brother to Lady Jane Seymour, 98 note, 104, 113, 140, 149, 150, 157, 170, 184, 187, 188; made Duke of Somerset, 172 note; Lord Protector, 175, 184; beheaded, 214, 236
- Hertford, Earl of, son of the Lord Protector, marries Lady Katherine Gray, 253, 308
- Hinde, Serjeant, prosecutes rebels, 83
- Holbein, Hans, portraits by, 114, 116, 273
- Holland, Bess, 102, 103
- Holmes, Thomas, secretary to Duke of Suffolk, 145
- Hopton, Lady, 82, 83
- Hopton, Sir Arthur, 81
- Howard, Lord Edward, 122 note, 138; imprisoned, 141
- Howard, Katherine, married to Henry VIII, 122, 125, 140, 143; at Hampton Court, 123; intrigues, 133; charged by Lord Chancellor, 139; executed, 141
- Huntingdon, Earl of, 50, 178
- Husee, John, agent to Lord Lisle, 89, 111; letters to Lady Lisle, 90, 94, 95, 98, 115
- Hussey, Lord, 62, 63 note, 74, 75; executed, 86, 87, 92, 207; Sleaford Castle, 136
- Hussey, Mary, married Lord Willoughby, 2, 290
- James V, King of Scotland, 116, 136
- Katherine of Aragon, Queen, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 15, 18, 109; at Buckden Place, 32; Suffolk's mission, 33, 34, 35; illness at Kimbolton, 39, 40; her death, 41
- Keyes, Thomas, marries Lady Mary Grey, 254; imprisoned, 255; his death, 259
- Kingston, Sir William, 77, 83; letter to Cromwell, 113
- Lantt, Revd. Christopher, 87
- Lascelles, John, informs about Katherine Howard, 136, 169
- Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, 55, 118, 131; committed to the Tower, 107; his sermons, vii, 185, 206, 209, 210, 238, 261, 262, 317; visits Duchess of Suffolk, 208; his dress, 211; imprisoned, 216; burnt, 217, 218, 219
- Latimer, Lord, 151; married Katherine Parr, 150, 192
- Lee, Dr. *See* York, Archbishop of.
- Leicester, Earl of, 286, 305, 307, 317
- Lennox, Earl of, marries Elizabeth Cavendish, 305
- Lennox, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of, 19, 166, 305; sent to the Tower, 306, 307
- Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, a play by T. Drew, 240-250
- Lincoln, Holbeach, Bishop of, 192
- Lincoln, Longland, Bishop of, 33, 55, 58, 74, 138
- Lincoln, Earl of, 24; his death, 37
- Lisle, Lord, Admiral. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.
- Lisle, Lord, Charles Brandon. *See* Suffolk, Duke of.
- Lisle, Lord, marries Lady Anne Seymour, 189
- Lisle, Lady, 25; marries Earl of Devon, 89
- Lisle, Viscount, married Lady Bassett, 89, 114, 115, 143; arrested, 120, 124; death, 144
- Lisle, Viscountess, 89, 111, 112, 114; letters from Husee, 90, 94, 95, 98; letters to her husband, 103, 104, 115, 123; loses her reason, 124
- London, Stokesley, Bishop of, 49
- Longland, Bishop. *See* Lincoln.
- Lyster, Sir Richard, 83
- Madeson, Sir Edward, 55, 63, 67
- Manning, Prior of Butley, letter to Cromwell, 88
- Mannock, Henry, lover of Katherine Howard, 133, 134
- Margaret, Archduchess, 25, 37, 92
- Marillac, Ambassador, 117, 123, 140; letters to the King of France, 136, 137, 139, 141
- Mary, Princess, 51, 59, 96, 139, 166, 174; as Queen of England, 191 note, 252, 259; persecutions of Protestants, 216, 219; her death, 235
- Mary, Queen of Scots, 199, 305, 306, 307
- Mason, Sir John, Ambassador, 230
- Milan, Duchess of, portrait by Holbein, 96; projected marriage to Henry VIII, 96, 116

- Moigne, Thomas, 55, 68, 83
 Montagu, Lord, trial of Queen Anne, 50, 111; executed, 105, 106
 More, Sir Thomas, 44; his execution, 45
 Morrison, Richard, Ambassador, 190
 Mortimer, Lady Margaret, 159; marries Duke of Suffolk, 25, 147
 Mounteagle, Lady, 21, 30, 92, 93; her death, 160, 202
 Mounteagle, Lord, 30, 47, 50, 161
 Mountjoy, Lord, 4, 33; married Agnes de Venegas, 6, 105 note
 Nevill, Sir Edward, executed, 105
 Norfolk, Duchess of, letter to Cromwell, 102
 Norfolk, Duke of, 29, 35, 47, 57, 77, 81, 86, 96, 102, 106, 108, 113, 140, 159; letter to Wolsey, 13; marries Lady Anne Stafford, 28; Earl Marshal, 30; trial of Anne Boleyn, 49, 50; Lincolnshire rebellion, 60, 61, 62, 66; letter to Privy Council, 76; godfather to Prince Edward, 94; letter from Cromwell, 99; letter to Suffolk, 99; letter to Cromwell, 100; mission to France, 117; arrests Cromwell, 120; at Grims-thorpe, 133; harries Scotch border, 146; in France, 151, 152, 153; sent to the Tower, 170, 199; trial of, 299
 Northampton, Marquis of, Sir William Parr, 64, 65, 70, 77, 83, 86, 157, 174
 Northumberland, Duke of, Sir John Dudley, 89, 119; Lord Lisle, Lord Admiral, 148, 155, 159, 165, 166, 170; Earl of Warwick, 187, 213 note; Duke of Northumber-land, 292
 Northumberland, Henry Percy, Earl of, 50
 Oxford, Countess of, 7, 85
 Oxford, Edward de Vere, XVII Earl of, marries Anne Cecil, 259, 307, 310, 311, 312, 315
 Oxford, John de Vere, XIII Earl of Oxford, 7
 Oxford, John de Vere, XVI Earl of, 51, 52, 62, 113; marries Mar-gery Golding, 308
 Paget, Lord, Ambassador at French Court, 138, 155, 158, 184; Chan-celler of the Duchy, 202, 203, 230
 Palatine, Otto Henry, Count, 114; reforms Heidelberg University, 231
 Palatine, Philip, Count, at Windsor, 113, 114; accompanies the King, 117
 Parham Hall, vii, 9, 14 note, 15, 16, 60
 Parr, Katherine, 151, 167, 192; marries Lord Seymour, 23, 172; marries King Henry, 150; her death, 150
 Parr, Sir William. *See* Northamp-ton, Marquis of.
 Paulet, Sir William. *See* St. John, Lord.
 Perusell, Francis, 225; aids Duchess of Suffolk, 226, 227
 Plantagenet, Sir Arthur. *See* Vis-count Lisle.
 Poland, King of, 212; invitation to Duchess of Suffolk, 232; acceptance, 233
 Pole, Cardinal, 105, 120, 124
 Pole, John de la, Duke of Suffolk, 26 note, 105 note
 Powis, Lady, 21, 92, 160; forges a claim, 202, 203; her death, 251
 Powis, Lord, 50
 Poynings, Sir Thomas, 119
 Radzewill, Count Nicholas, be-friends Duchess of Suffolk, 232, 233, 234
 Richmond, Duchess of, 35, 103 note
 Richmond, Duke of, death, 51, 103
 Richmond, Margaret, Countess of Derby, 125, 181
 Ridley, Bishop, imprisoned, 216; burnt, 217, 218, 219
 Rochester, Fisher, Bishop of, his trial, 44; execution, 45
 Rochford, Lady, 135; committed to the Tower, 139; executed, 142
 Rojas, Maria de, 3, 4, 5
 Russell, Sir John, 64, 65, 70, 72, 77, 83, 104; Great Admiral, 126
 Rutland, I Earl of, 50, 90 note
 Rutland, II Earl of, 178, 181
 Rutland, III Earl of, 259, 307, 308

- Sadler, Sir Ralph, letter to Cromwell, 118; letter to Cranmer, 138; Ambassador to Scotland, 147
- St. John, Lord, Sir William Paulet, 77, 82; controller, 126; Lord St. John, Lord Chamberlain, 157, 161
- Salinas, Maria de. *See* Willoughby, Maria, Lady.
- Salisbury, Countess of, arrested, 105, 121; beheaded, 124; buried in the Tower, 142 note
- Salisbury, Shaxton, Bishop of, 107
- Seymour, Lady Anne, marries Lord Lisle, 189
- Seymour, Jane, 90, 140, 172 note; marries Henry VIII, 52; birth of Prince Edward, 94; her death, 95
- Seymour, of Sudeley, Lord, Sir Thomas Seymour, 23, 119; created Lord Seymour, 172, 180; marries Katherine Parr, 172, 173; her death, 174; his execution, 175
- Shrewsbury, Countess of, Bess of Hardwick, 304, 305; sent to the Tower, 306
- Shrewsbury, V Earl of, Lord Steward, 50 note, 63, 66, 68-71, 74, 76, 77; visit from Duke of Suffolk, 112
- Shrewsbury, VI Earl of, Lord Talbot, 69, 71; Earl of Shrewsbury, custodian of Mary, Queen of Scots, 259; letter to Queen Elizabeth, 307
- Somerset, Duchess of. *See* Hertford, Countess of.
- Somerset, Duke of. *See* Hertford, Earl of.
- Southampton, Earl of, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Admiral, 65, 70, 72, 77, 82, 96, 113; Earl of Southampton, 120; Lord Privy Seal, 126, 146; conveys Katherine Howard to the Tower, 141; death, 147
- Southampton, Earl of, Sir Thomas Wriothlesley, 50, 69, 90, 108, 119, 153, 164, 193, 213, 214, 220; Lord Chancellor, 128; charges the Queen, 138; bribed, 141; letter from Duke of Suffolk, 146; Earl of Southampton, 147; letter to Duke of Suffolk, 150;
- Askew plot, 167, 169, 170, 213, 214
- Stokes, Adrian, 252; marries Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, 253
- Strange, Lady, daughter of Lady Eleanor Clifford, 285
- Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, Lord Lisle, Terouenne campaign, 3, 10; wardship of Lady Lisle, 25; made Duke of Suffolk, 26, 30, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41, 44, 47, 78, 81, 82, 90, 91, 96, 99, 104, 107, 108, 111, 119, 120, 126, 127, 136, 140, 148, 155, 159, 193; buys the wardship of Katherine, 17; Earl Marshal, 20; marries Katherine, 23, 24; his previous marriages, 24-28; at Royal christening, 29; letters to the King, 33, 67, 68, 69, 70, 79, 149; birth of Henry, 37; sells Ewelme and Hognorton, 45, 48; trial of Anne Boleyn, 49, 50; witnesses execution, 51; Lincolnshire rebellion, 60, 61, 64, 72, 74, 76, 77; letters to Cromwell, 80, 92, 106, 110; grants to, 83, 109; letter from the King, 86; godfather to Prince Edward, 94; at Sheffield Castle, 112; summoned to Court, 113; Grand Master of the Household, 118; letter to Lady Lisle, 121; conveys Queen Katherine to the Tower, 141; Warden of the Marches, 146; letter to Privy Council, 149; besieges Boulogne, 151; salvage of the *Marie Rose*, 155, 156; his death, 157; his will, 160, 202; buried at Windsor, 162
- Suffolk, Frances, Duchess of, Marchioness of Dorset, 20, 158, 160, 166, 174, 202, 212; Duchess of Suffolk, marries Adrian Stokes, 252, 253; her death, 254
- Suffolk, Henry Brandon, Duke of, 188; birth, 37, 38; at Coronation, 171; his talents, 181; at Cambridge, 182, 191; his death, 191, 192; eulogies of, 194, inventory of effects, 200, 201
- Suffolk, Henry Grey, Duke of. *See* Marquis of Dorset.
- Suffolk, Katherine, Duchess of, vii, 29, 32, 35, 41, 42, 47, 64, 90, 91, 104, 127, 150, 155, 167, 172, 174, 305, 306; birth of Henry, 37, 38; birth of Charles, 48; in

- Lincolnshire, 82; letter to Lady Lisle, 112; at Katherine Parr's wedding, 150; the Duke's will, 161; money difficulties, 164; position at Court, 165; god-mother to Lord Lisle's child, 166; wardship of her son, 171; letters to Cecil, 175, 184, 185, 187, 189, 201, 205, 208, 236, 256, 257, 291, 294, 295; religious activities, 178, 179; her horses, 180; lives near Cambridge, 182; death of her sons, 193; endows scholarships, 194; referred to in *Arte of Rhetorique*, 196-199; at Grimsthorpe, 204; marries Richard Bertie, 212, 215; sympathy with the Reformers, 216, 217; birth of Suzan, 219; escape from London, 222, 223, 224; lands in Brabant, 225; at Wesel, 227; birth of Peregrine, 228, 229; flight to Windsheim, 230; invited to Poland, 232; journey there, 233, 234; returns to England, 251; gaoler of Lady Mary Grey, 256, 257; household accounts, 262-283; smallpox, 275; illness, 284; claims the Willoughby and Grey titles, 290; opposes Peregrine's marriage, 309, 310; assents to, 312; letter to Earl of Leicester, 315; her death, 109, 317; burial, 318
- Suffolk, Mary Tudor, Duchess of, the French Queen, 18, 19, 24, 25 note, 26, 27, 37, 42, 46, 93, 109, 130, 167, 203, 204, 253; her funeral, 20, 21, 22, 23
- Suffolk, William de Ufford, Earl of, 1, 9, 16
- Surrey, Earl of, 119, 140, 158; beheaded, 170
- Sussex, Countess of, 91, 94, 95, 99
- Sussex, Earl of, 32, 50, 104, 111, 113; Lord Chamberlain, 126, 310
- Tailboys, Elizabeth, 2, 18 note
- Tailboys, Sir George, 2, 18
- Talbot, Lord. *See* Shrewsbury, Earl of.
- Thimbleby, Sir John, 65, 68
- Tudor, Mary. *See* Suffolk, Duchess of.
- Tyrell, Sir William, letter to Suffolk, 87
- Tyrwhit, Sir Robert, 55, 62, 68, 275
- Ufford, Cecilie, 1, 16, 110
- Uvedale, Nicholas, Master of Eton, 124
- Vaudey Abbey, 83, 270; granted to Duke of Suffolk, 84, 127, 202
- Venegas, Agnes de, 4; marries Lord Mountjoy, 6, 105 note
- Vere, Lady Mary de, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313, 316; marries Peregrine Bertie, 303, 312, 314
- Wallop, Lady, letter to Lady Lisle, 98
- Warren, Sir Ralph, 82, 88
- Warwick, Earl of. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.
- Westmorland, Earl of, 50, 51 note, 103
- Whitgift, Archbishop, 302
- Williams, John, letter to Cromwell, 72
- Willoughby, Sir Christopher, 13-17, 47, 60, 183; his son made a Peer, 171
- Willoughby, Sir Henry, marries Lady Anne Grey, 204, 205 note
- Willoughby, Katherine, 1, 2, 14, 18, 20, 28; born at Parham, 9; becomes Baroness Willoughby, 15; ward of the Duke of Suffolk, 17; marries the Duke, 23, 24, 28. *See* Suffolk, Duchess of.
- Willoughby, Maria, Lady, 4, 5, 15, 17, 38, 39, 43; marries Lord Willoughby, 3, 6; birth of Katherine, 9; visits Queen Katherine, 40; at her funeral, 42; death, 109
- Willoughby, Sir Thomas, 2, 16, 205 note
- Willoughby, X Lord, 2, 9, 11, 73, 110; Terouenne campaign, 3, 10; marries Maria de Salinas, 3, 6, 8; Katherine born, 9; his death, 13; his will, 13, 14; licence to deal in wool, 186
- Wilson, Thomas, tutor to Duke of Suffolk, 180, 181 note, 182, 192, 193, 194, 200, 214; author of a life of the Brandon brothers, 195; author of the *Arte of Rhetorique*, 195-199
- Wiltshire, Earl of, Sir Thomas Boleyn, 47, 50 note

- Wolsey, Cardinal, 9, 10, 16, 18, 27, 38, 118, 121, 135, 158
Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln's Chancellor, 53; murdered, 56
Woodall, Agnes, ward of Duke of Suffolk, 161; ward of Duchess of Suffolk, 171, 201; ward of Mrs. Blakborn, 215, 251
- Wriothesley, Sir Thomas. *See* Southampton, Earl of.
- York, Dr. Lee, Archbishop of, 58, 69, 70, 77
York, Dr. Sands, Archbishop of, 231, 241

128791

92
Su 29

Goff, C

A woman of the Tudor age.

128791

92
Su 29

